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THE ECOLE DES CHARTES

IN the classroom at the École des Chartes the lecturer looks over the heads of his pupils to a fresco on the wall behind them, representing the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The subject was aptly chosen. For the École des Chartes, although housed now in the new Sorbonne, has nothing in common with the traditions of the old University of Paris, depicted in the colors of romance upon the walls of the central arcade. The École des Chartes is an intruder, still preserving its autonomy, and linked more closely both in ideals and in actual history to the great Maurist monastery than to the ancient centre of rhetoric and scholasticism which gives it a home. It was created with the definite purpose of continuing the work begun by d'Achery and Mabillon and has been true to its purpose.

The loss to history resulting from the dissolution of the monasteries in the French Revolution was felt almost immediately. The creation of the Institut failed to supply what had been destroyed, and Napoleon in his concern for the decadence of literature extended his interest to the study of history as well. Though not destined to become the founder of the École des Chartes, he outlined a project by which the Collège de France was to undertake the practical instruction in historical research and the encouragement of that side of literature which would lead to the production of works of real utility. On the nineteenth of March, 1807, when stopping at the castle of Finckenstein between the battles of Eylau and Friedland, Napoleon received from the Duc de Cadore the outline of an institution which was to play the part of a Port-Royal, rather than of a Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in the revival of literature. This plan, drawn up by Cadore's secretary, Baron de Gérando, exhibited some of that quality of its author's mind which enabled him, in the words of Sainte-

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Beuve, "to turn out books like macaroni". Napoleon's terse comments transformed these propositions into practical terms;[1] but the strenuous life of the First Empire did not furnish good soil for such an enterprise, and the Collège de France was left to go its own more or less peaceful way, cut off from the main educational forces which have since then transformed the system of higher education in France.

The proposition of Baron de Gérando was not destined to be realized in connection with either the Collège de France or the Sorbonne. With a conservatism worthy of England, these two historic institutions were left unmolested by the innovators, while alongside of them new and independent schools were founded to meet the demands of the scientific spirit. The École des Chartes and later the École Pratique des Hautes Études were founded for a definite purpose and conducted with a complete disregard of the traditionalism of their environment. Naturally in the course of time the steady pressure of their influence transformed the methods of the ancient institutions, at least of the Sorbonne; and the triple confusion which is the result offers a threefold advantage if one but learns its reason and its meaning—advantages of which the American student who comes to Paris has seldom any clear idea.

The present École des Chartes was founded in 1829, after an abortive effort in 1821 to give effect to the ideas of Baron de Gérando. Refounded in 1846 and remodelled in 1869, the school was moved from its quarters in the Archives in 1897 to the new Sorbonne, where in the centre of all the educational activity in Paris it maintains its own autonomy and pursues undisturbed its own aims. Its former students, formed into alumni societies, maintain a spirit of loyalty which recalls that of the early days when the contributors to the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* established the right of the school to exist in spite of the indifference of the monarchy of July. Although the students may supplement the slight curriculum of the school with courses in surrounding institutions, they remain through life stamped with the indelible impress of the École des Chartes.

Outwardly there is little in the curriculum to explain the important part which this school has played in the history of French historiography and in the development of historical research in general. It is in form merely a technical school for the training of archivists and librarians. Its courses are planned with that distinct purpose.

[1] See "Notes et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'École Royale des Chartes", by M. A. Vallet de Viriville, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, second series, volume IV. (1847–1848), pp. 153–176.

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Admission as a regular student is accorded to about twenty successful candidates selected each year by a competitive examination. For three years these students must be in regular attendance upon all the lectures, signing the roll at every *conférence*. Upon graduation the government opens for them the position of archivist either in Paris or in the provinces.

There are only three courses a year, although one runs over from the second into the third. Compared with the imposing prospectus of an American university, the programme of the École des Chartes makes but a poor showing. Yet when one looks over the roll of distinguished scholars who have been trained in its scientific methods of research, one cannot but recognize in its scanty programme a force which has few parallels in the history of modern culture. Though the high renown of the school is due rather to the subsequent achievements of its alumni than to any clear appreciation by outsiders of what they were taught while students, still its graduates themselves have attributed the success of their later work to the simple but strict training of its courses, in which the traditions of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur have been preserved amid the routine of a practical curriculum. Those traditions and their results are well known. But the actual process by which they are achieved and maintained has escaped the chronicler. In order to indicate it, however, we shall have to renounce the easy path of generalities and enter the classroom itself.

No American student has ever taken the full three years at the École des Chartes, and it is not likely that any ever will. To do so, one would divorce himself entirely from the needs and the resources of American universities and libraries. The degree *archiviste paléographe* which the state accords to the graduate of the school is of value only to those who live in Europe, where there are archives to catalogue and medieval documents to publish. The courses which directly interest the historical student may be taken easily in a year —or could be if the time-table of *conférences* were rearranged. Even some of these courses need not be followed closely; for they are rather for the training of those whose investigations pave the way for the historian by the preparation of texts than for the historical student who will, as in America, be limited in his researches by whatever texts are at hand. In short, it would be a mistake in almost every instance for the American student either to devote himself to the entire course of studies at the École des Chartes or, in view of other courses at the Sorbonne or the École Pratique des Hautes Études, to devote himself entirely to them even for a year.

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He will therefore likely enter as an auditor, taking any course or courses which appeal to him. If his purpose is sufficiently serious to warrant such a favor, he will also be permitted, by the courtesy of M. Paul Meyer, the director, the free use of the library, with its perfect equipment of sources, manuals, and facsimiles. This is a rare privilege, for no lordly *appariteur* stands between him and the books; and the little workroom is the place where he will become acquainted with the *élèves*, and enter in part at least into that remarkable confraternity, where it is the unwritten law for the students of the third year to help those of the second, and those of the second in turn to place their erudition at the service of those of the first. The solidarity of the *élèves* of the École des Chartes becomes a tradition from the first lecture of M. Élie Berger in the first year, and remains unbroken through life.

There are three courses in the first year: one in Romance languages by M. Paul Meyer, one in paleography by M. Élie Berger, and one in bibliography by M. Charles Mortet. While M. Meyer himself would advise the student of history not to take his course in philology, the *élèves* of the school all regard it as one of their rare privileges. It is of course philology at its best; and if one has never taken up Old French or has any need of Provençal or Gascon sources, it is well worth while to watch the care with which the phonetic laws are traced through multitudes of examples. The bibliographical indications and incidental references to other subjects give the course a special value and breadth. One would certainly take it if his work in history lay within the range of its results, not otherwise.

Although not recommending itself by such vast stores of erudition, the course in paleography by M. Élie Berger, the successor of M. Léon Gautier, will be much more useful, because it is the practical study of the essentials of text-reading. M. Berger enlivens the *conférences* with comments in which his keen sense of humor sometimes leads to short digressions. But he has ample ground for it in the diverting revelations of the students' ignorance of church history —as when for example one of them declared that Saint Peter and Saint Jerome were the two favorite apostles. Each recitation consists in the reading (by members of the class) of a facsimile of some medieval manuscript from the collection in the library. This practical drill is accompanied by questions upon the subject treated in the text; but as these facsimiles are chosen for the handwriting only, the comments are of a most general nature. There are also frequent references to Latin grammar, sometimes to the discomfiture of members of the class. In addition to the recitations, part of the time is

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devoted to correlative subjects, especially to the history of ancient and medieval handwriting. The great value of the course is in the practice, the continual and unremitting study of the facsimiles which it involves. The student who wishes to benefit fully by it should by all means have free access to the library and the facsimiles for his regular preparation.

Historical bibliography, as taken up by M. Charles Mortet, is the indispensable introduction to all of the mechanism of research. After the preliminary practical survey, it develops the subject historically, and touches in places upon the same ground as the parallel subject-courses. In some ways it is perhaps too special for the foreign student; but he may be attracted by the interest of a subject which, when conceived historically, develops into hardly less than the explanation of how the written records of the past have been preserved to us. Yet absorbing as it is, one cannot but wonder if it would not have been possible for the École des Chartes to have developed more directly the practical duties of librarians to-day. The *érudit*, trained himself in the methods of research, is not sufficiently reminded of the duty of a librarian to perfect the instruments of work for those who are not specialists in his subject. In this respect the utility of the École des Chartes has fallen short of the ideal of Napoleon, as all workers in the Bibliothèque Nationale will confirm.

Of the courses in the second year, by all means the most important is that on diplomatics by M. Maurice Prou. Indeed this is, from the historian's point of view, the most important course of the school. M. Prou is a worthy successor of the lamented Arthur Giry, whose memory is still reverently cherished by his former pupils. It is in this course that one comes upon that minute and keen analysis which is the basis of the scientific method. The manner of conducting the work is approximately the same as in the course in paleography. The facsimiles are read this time, however, for their content, not for the handwriting; and all the auxiliary sciences necessary to the interpretation of medieval documents receive sufficient treatment to put the student in a position to rely absolutely upon himself when he takes up independent research, special emphasis being laid upon chronology. The students hand in exercises at the recitations, and each receives a generous proportion of red-ink corrections and suggestions. M. Prou gives himself up to the work before him, drudgery as some of it is, with a zeal which is rewarded by the grateful tributes of every student of the École des Chartes. Giry's manual and Prou's portfolio of facsimiles should open the opportunity for some attempt in American universities to repeat the work which

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most of all lies at the basis of what is unique in the training of the École des Chartes.

The course in French institutions by M. Jules Roy is of a distinctly different character. It involves no research beyond the study of well-known manuals, and will disappoint any one who comes to the École des Chartes expecting to do research work in history proper. It is fortunate that there are other institutions at hand to supplement the instruction of the school in this respect. M. Roy's course covers the field in a painstaking way and it insures a knowledge of the elements of the institutions of the Middle Ages, but it involves no research among the original sources. M. Roy's research course is given at the École des Hautes Études.

The "Service des Archives", to which M. Eugène Lelong devotes a weekly *conférence,* is intended for the practical training of archivists in French archives, yet the long historical introduction contains not a little valuable history. The actual description of present conditions of work in the archives does not begin until the close of January. The manual by Langlois and Stein, tested by actual investigations at the archives, will largely compensate for the loss of this course if for any reason it proves difficult to attend it; for, although of the greatest value to the French student, it is perhaps too special for the American, unless he intends to work extensively in France. The same remark is true of the course on the "Sources of French History", which cannot in the nature of things contain much of independent value since the publication of Molinier's *Répertoire.* M. H. F. Delaborde pursues this subject through both the second and the third year, with enlargements upon Molinier. But nowhere else does one obtain such a keen realization of the loss to historical research by the untimely death of Molinier as in the classroom where his work took shape. The course remains much what Molinier made it, a survey of the narrative sources of French history; and it gains still from a sense of his prodigious labor, for Molinier followed true French traditions and did the work himself instead of exploiting his students. It is interesting in this connection to refer to Molinier's own comment on the importance of this course. He tried in it to save the École des Chartes from neglecting the chronicler and annalist for the exclusive study of charters. The tendency of the student trained in diplomatics under such masters as Giry and Prou is instinctively away from the literary sources. Molinier's work was in a sense more difficult than that of Giry, for his materials were both vaster and of more uncertain value. His

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manual is a lasting witness to the way he faced his responsibilities at the École des Chartes.[1]

In the third year, besides the second course of M. Delaborde, there are two others: one on the history of civil and canon law in the Middle Ages, by M. Paul Viollet; and the other by M. Robert de Lasteyrie on the archaeology of the Middle Ages. M. Viollet evidently recognizes that the day of the canonist is doomed in France, for the history of the canon law itself is finished before Christmas, and then the course shifts into a history of French law through the Middle Ages. The historian of French law and institutions has fortunately already published much of what he gives in the classroom; but, in spite of a delivery difficult for a foreigner to follow, the students regard his course with the respect due to so distinguished a master, and speak with reverent affection of his genial personality.

In medieval archaeology one naturally places next to the name of Jules Quicherat that of Robert Comte de Lasteyrie—master and pupil. M. de Lasteyrie's task as the successor of Quicherat was naturally a heavy one, but he in turn has imparted to his pupils the inspiration which has produced a manual like that of Enlart, and an interest in medieval archaeology which has extended much beyond the classroom of the École des Chartes. The history of art has received from this course a legitimization which should find some echo in the serious programme of historical studies in America. One cannot there, it is true, take his class in the spring on excursions to Coucy and Blois; but a well-equipped history department can in other respects follow the method of instruction of the École des Chartes. M. Lasteyrie's health prevents him from conducting his *conférences* regularly, and they are often taken by his former pupils Enlart or Lefèvre-Pontalis.

Such are the courses at the École des Chartes. One must remember that their great value consists in the steady and close application which they demand of the student. Recitations which are real tests, and which are faced with the sense of their importance, develop a spirit of work which is the distinctive mark of the "Chartist".

After the examinations on the courses, a thesis has to be written. This must be ready for the formal defense in the January following

[1] Cf. Moliner, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, V. clxxvi: "Toutefois, il faut reconnaître que dans cette sévère école, trop fidèle à certaines traditions bénédictines, on a longtemps montré plus de prédilection pour l'étude des documents diplomatiques du moyen âge que pour celle des sources narratives; beaucoup des excellents érudits qu'elle a formés ont donné de remarquables éditions de chroniques et autres textes historiques, mais aux temps déjà lointains où l'auteur du présent ouvrage en suivait les cours, on n'y parlait guère des historiens latins ou français du moyen âge; on s'occupait exclusivement de chartes et de diplômes."

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the completion of the three years' work. The student therefore spends all the summer and fall of his third year upon the completion of a thesis which he has begun during the regular terms. It generally involves practical investigations in the national or provincial archives, and one can see the serious character of the work by a glance at the synopsis published yearly under the title "Position des Thèses." In more than one case the thesis has been made the basis for a contribution of the first importance.

The defense of the thesis is a public function; and the examiners consist of a "Conseil de perfectionnement", including besides the professors the administrators of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Director of the Archives Nationales, the Director of the École des Chartes, and five members of the Académie des Inscriptions elected by its members. The president is the venerable Léopold Delisle. His rugged Carlylean features are lighted up by a genial sympathy as he comments upon the work of the young students who one after another are called to the table facing the jury. The presence of the aged and distinguished historian lends dignity to a scene marked by the utter absence of formality. The unsuccessful candidate is simply told by his professor that he must do his thesis over again; the successful learn their order of merit in a list posted up after the tests are over. It is an anxious period of waiting, for the first on the list is sent by the government to the École Française de Rome.

One naturally asks what there is in this limited curriculum to yield such important results. The very limitation of the studies to a single field is no doubt an important factor; but since the students generally take courses in the Sorbonne, the École des Hautes Études, or the École de Droit as well, this cannot be the main reason. It lies rather in the thorough practice which is exacted of every student in the subjects which are covered. There are no superficial courses along the gilded margin of attractive subjects. The work is intensive and severe. The discipline is as valuable as the knowledge acquired. This seems to be the secret of the power of the École des Chartes. "Not eager for quick returns of profit", it has reaped more largely of the years that followed.[1]

J. T. Shotwell.

[1] A distinguished alumnus thus sums up the reasons for the success of the École des Chartes: "L'École doit sa valeur: (1°) au petit nombre d'élèves, (2°) à l'obligation stricte de suivre les cours, (3°) à l'entrainement auquel les examens de semestre et annuels soumettent les élèves, (4°) à l'obligation de toujours recourir aux originaux, d'apporter des documents inédits, bien lus, bien ponctués, bien compris, prêts pour l'impression, (5°) à la sévérité de l'examen des thèses, et à la terreur qu'inspirent certains professeurs ou membres du conseil; et ces messieurs sont inaccessibles aux recommendations extra-scientifiques. *Viri boni, discendi periti.*"

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THE ENGLAND OF OUR FOREFATHERS

THERE is one period of English history that is to us Americans of more significance than all the centuries which preceded and have followed it; for it is the pit from which our nation was digged and the rock from which it was hewn. It covers a part of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth, but its earliest portion is of the greater importance. Some eighty years, say from 1580 to 1660, covered the adult life of the whole body of early emigrants from England to New England, Virginia, and Maryland. Every man who came from England to America to build up the colonies was born, or at least grew to maturity, and gained his impressions, characteristics, and early experiences in England in those years. How much do we really know about England during that period? How clear and how adequate is the knowledge we can obtain from accessible historical works of life in England at the time our earliest American forefathers lived in it and were formed by it? These first settlers not only were raised under English conditions; they brought over with them the ideas and training they had gained at home, and they established these English institutions in America. Where can we turn to find what the English institutions of the time were?

This paper is intended as in a certain sense an answer to these questions. It is intended to indicate, first, what has been done and what still needs to be done in the study of English history during the two generations between 1580 and 1660; secondly, what materials for performing the remaining work exist; and thirdly, how far these materials are accessible.

In examining what is already done we turn in the first place naturally to the narrative history of the period, the account of its events. Curiously enough, this is nowhere very minutely and familiarly given. That part of the period which falls within the reign of Elizabeth has suffered from the length of her reign and from the relatively more exciting character of its earlier years. Froude, it is true, called his work a *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*; but with his instinct for the picturesque he brings his work to an end with the defeat of the Armada, in 1588, fifteen years short of his previously announced

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date of conclusion. He may have grown weary in well—or ill doing, or he may have had a justifiable feeling that twelve volumes are quite as many as any one man should write on any one subject; but what he says is, "Chess-players, when they have brought their game to a point at which the result can be foreseen with certainty, regard their contest as ended, and sweep the pieces from the board."[1] So, looking upon the history of sixteenth-century England as a sort of drama of the Reformation, after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the defeat of the first great attempt to avenge her death, he considers the play ended, and brings it to a close which is far more dramatic than either scholarly or historically justifiable. Nor have others who preceded or have followed Froude given an appreciably fuller account of the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. An impression has grown up that it was in some sense a triumphant period, a time of well-earned rest from earlier labors, but all details are wanting. The contrary is really the case: the queen outlived her ability and her popularity; the country groaned and muttered under the enormous exactions and taxation; repeated Spanish armadas terrified the towns and the seaboard; Ireland, as so often before and since, just failed to shake off the English incubus; golden opportunities to crush England's great Spanish rival were lost by vacillation and mismanagement—but of all these, too, details are still wanting.

With the accession of James I., we come into the light of the great work of Gardiner. Solid learning, scholarly accuracy, and an admirable freedom from partizanship mark a history that extends in time well beyond the period of early American settlement and falls but little short of the limit he had planned for it. Yet Gardiner's work is merely political; and consists besides, if carefully examined, rather of a series of descriptions of a few successive great events or movements than of a continuous, well-balanced narrative. His historical writing appeared first as a series of detailed studies: *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage* (1869), *England under Buckingham* (1875), and others; and the recasting of it into a continuous form did not materially alter its character. It cannot be said that we have a well-rounded and lifelike account of the period of the early Stuarts, even from Gardiner. Nor is this want supplied by other narratives, nor by the many excellent biographies of the men of the time that have appeared. A clear, continuous, and inclusive account of the occurrences of English history during the period referred to is certainly a desideratum.

[1] Volume XII. (ed. of 1856–1870), 530.

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Turning to the different aspects of history, it might seem at first thought that the political, the religious, and the intellectual conditions of the time at least were thoroughly familiar. The first half of the seventeenth century was a period of the first importance in political and constitutional history, and it has naturally therefore received something approaching adequate discussion. Hallam, Gardiner, Gneist, Ranke, Macaulay, and others have analyzed the theories and contentions of the respective sides of the disputes between king and Parliament, and traced their history till the contentions were put to the arbitrament of war and the theories to the test of practice. A great number of the documents of the period have been made accessible in the collections of Prothero and Gardiner. Some of the most important have been made familiar even to our school-children by their publication in such series as the *Old South Leaflets, American History Leaflets,* and *Liberty Documents.*

Yet a somewhat closer examination of this literature discloses the fact that it is practically entirely occupied with contentious matters. But what do we know concerning the normal, uncontested routine of government? What were the ordinary rights and duties of the king, aside from disputed questions of high prerogative? How was Parliament actually elected and organized; and how was it occupied when not engaged in the assertion of its "ancient and undoubted privileges"? A careful search through the books I have named will be rewarded with but little information on these points. Yet these questions are really more fundamentally important for the study of American institutions than the great disputes which tore England into factions. Political disputes had much to do with the fact of emigration, and with the selection of those who emigrated; but when the dissatisfied element had once left England, they left, to a great extent, these disputes behind them. What they took with them to America was the tradition and the knowledge of methods of government. Government is after all a practical matter, a certain way of getting certain things done; and it was government in this sense, not the temporary conflicts concerning the administration of it, that was perpetuated in America. It was the practical capacity to govern, and not the mere negative love of liberty, that was the most valuable and characteristic inheritance that the American colonists received from their mother-country; and it was this that most clearly differentiated them from French colonists to the north and Spanish colonists to the south.

Again, it is to be noted that our political and constitutional knowledge is much clearer concerning central than concerning local

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government. King, Parliament, ministers, and the great law-courts are much more familiar to us than the lords-lieutenants, sheriffs, and justices-of-the-peace of counties; than the vestries, constables, and churchwardens of parishes; than cities and boroughs with their maze of officials and functions. For the uses of American history this relative degree of familiarity with central and local institutions should be exactly reversed. Local government in the colonies was for a long time much more important than central. It was on their stock of knowledge of methods of doing neighborhood work that the early settlers had to draw for immediate use; the demand on their traditions of central government came later and more gradually. It is impossible to understand colonial self-government without understanding English local government. Some of the deficiencies in this part of our knowledge are, it is true, being filled out. Miss Scofield's work on the *Star Chamber* (1900), Mr. Beard's essay on *The Office of Justice of the Peace* (1904), Miss Leonard's study of the local administration of the Poor Law (1900), and doubtless others, are valuable contributions; but much of the best work being done, like Mr. Baldwin's papers on the King's Council, is on earlier periods; the harvest is still abundant, and the laborers few. There is much need of adequate historical investigation and clear description of the normal work of government both central and local under the Tudors and Stuarts.

Turning to religious and ecclesiastical history, some of the same facts are true of it as have been asserted of political history. Sharp as were its struggles, keen as the interest has been in these struggles, most of the study and writing on them has been too narrow. The organization, the personnel, and the activities of the established church of England during this period are almost unknown. I do not know where in all historical literature one can turn for a plain, scholarly, impartial description of the Anglican church during the century after the Reformation. Even the admirable work by Mr. Dexter just published, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (1905), and Mr. Usher's edition of the Minute Book of an Elizabethan Presbytery,[1] take the established church all for granted. Yet this is the background against which the whole picture of the Puritan movement must be drawn. To understand a protest, we must understand what it is against which the protest is made. To obtain a fair idea of the disputes between the Anglican and the Puritan, we must know what the real condition of the former was; what he was undertaking to do, and how well or ill he was doing it. Much

[1] Royal Historical Society Publications, London, 1905.

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of the writing on this period and aspect of history has been only too interested and too narrow. It has been the work of apologists for various sects. It is quite time that calm, trained historical students should throw light into its dark corners also.

The intellectual interests of the period of the effulgence of Elizabethan literature have naturally been so carefully studied and so fully described by scholars in that field that we may safely leave it to their labors. It is, however, only fair to say that we cannot look for much light from these scholars on any other aspect of the period than their own specialty. Notwithstanding all the painstaking industry and the trained judgment of the historians of literature, even the best of them seem to be satisfied with a very vague and fragmentary picture of the society in the midst of which the writers they study lived. Their work is often like one of those renaissance portraits in which every detail of the man represented is admirably portrayed, but the background is a confused mass of buildings, gardens, figures, and landscape. What we still need is to make the surroundings also clear.

For economic conditions the ground has been broken, but scarcely more than broken. Cunningham's great work, especially in its new edition, throws some light upon it. Miss Leonard's recent study of "The Inclosure of Common Fields in the Seventeenth Century"[1] is important. A few other monographs come temptingly near the period, but just fail to deal with it. Some work has been done on the commercial companies whose history lies so close to that of our earliest settlements; but progress in that direction is painfully slow. Others are known to be making a more thorough study of the internal economic conditions of England than has been made before; but their work has not yet been published, and they will be the first to bear out the statement that much is waiting to be done in this aspect also of English history during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods.

The existence or non-existence of historical works on the subjects indicated is, naturally, closely connected with the availability of the sources for them. Do sources exist from which such historical narratives or descriptions can be drawn? Are they printed? If not, are they easily accessible in manuscript form? No categorical answer to the last two of these questions can of course be given, but some statement can be made of the form and availability of the principal sources, and of the direction in which they are in process of being made more accessible. It does not need to be pointed out

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XIX. 101–146.

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here that any historical work worth doing involves going to actual, original, contemporary documents. But many of these are easily accessible, being already printed in extenso. Such are the statutes, proceedings of Parliament, famous trials, statements of religious principles, the more conspicuous state papers, and a great body of foreign and domestic correspondence. Others, like the *Acts of the Privy Council*, are being printed more or less rapidly by the English government.

Few persons realize what a large body of records exists, published in full form, in the series of transactions or periodicals published by various societies; and these are constantly being added to. Historical work in England is poorly organized to the last degree, and no known force except chance decides what is going to appear in any one of the twenty or more uncorrelated forms of publication. Bibliographies for this period do not exist, and it is often almost as hard to find what documents have appeared as to find what are going to appear—but nevertheless appear they do, and in considerable numbers. Far behind Germany, France, Italy, and the United States in systematic historical production as England certainly is; with her universities devoted principally to secondary study, and her historical investigators working in unsupported loneliness, even when they are not losing much good energy in personal controversies; nevertheless the fact remains that through the government, through various societies, and through other agencies a great amount and variety of historical material is constantly being made accessible to all historical students. The immoral custom of issuing but a small and limited number of copies of certain works is more widespread in England than in other countries, as in the instance where Oxford University some years ago issued some very important facsimile maps in an edition of only fifty copies; but this seldom applies to documents of any great value or interest—to real students. I repeat that the possibilities of work from existing printed material are very great. A thesis has recently been issued from one of our universities which involves the use of more material concerning the later English craft-gilds than all the other existing works on the subject, English and American, together; and all this material was found in one American university library. The history of local political institutions, those of the county, hundred, and parish, could probably be quite sufficiently studied from material already in print. Local manuscript records are in very bad shape. Ill-written in the first place, subsequently they have been neglected or scattered or forgotten or destroyed. There has never until lately been any pres-

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sure from above to require local authorities to keep their records in order, and when the county councils recently took the matter up to the extent of requiring parish officials to provide a tin box for their records, they met an almost ludicrous amount of resistance. Nevertheless the total bulk of local records has been so great as to leave still, after all losses, an immense residuum. For the study of local institutions these county and parish records are indispensable; for the knowledge of real social conditions they are almost equally important, for here more than anywhere else we read the plain, unquestionable records of what people actually did under actual, ordinary circumstances. It is here that we find the true corrective to "drum and trumpet history"—real people living their lives, quite unaware of the lurid story of them which later writers of romance might tell. How could a plain churchwarden, attending a parish meeting where money gained from the Hock-Tuesday play was brought in and appropriated to repairs on the church-steeple; where the men who had rung the bells to welcome King James, as he passed through from Edinburgh to London to take his new crown, came to get their fees; where the constable reported how many vagabonds he had whipped and turned over to the next parish; where a new parish mole-catcher was appointed; and where ten pounds of the parish funds was loaned out to apprentice a boy to a neighboring tradesman—how could this churchwarden who has left us his minutes of the meeting be supposed to know that England was at that very time torn to shreds by quarrels between Anglican and Puritan, and that all usual employments were suspended while Parliament and the king were settling their disputes as to the extent of the prerogative?

The value of this class of records has lately come to be recognized more and more, and in the usual English way a new society has been formed to provide for the printing of such material; but its systematic publication will involve much difficulty and a long time. In the meantime there is a great body of local records already in print, as in the case of the records of broader interest already referred to. They are printed as appendixes or foot-notes in various works of local history, and in local periodicals. This material is hard to gather and hard to co-ordinate. There are no bibliographical guides, or almost none. Local histories are always questionable and generally inferior in scholarly qualities. Nevertheless such material is well worth collecting and utilizing. But little has been done or is likely to be done in this direction in England. It is much to be desired that the Library of Congress, the Carnegie Institution, the American Historical Association, some state historical society, or

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some well-equipped university or public library should take up the task of collecting, listing, and critically valuing the books and periodicals on English local history which contain in them bona-fide English local records referring to the period of American settlement.

Turning from documents published in full to printed abstracts of manuscripts, we are immediately brought face to face with the publications of the Public Record Office in London. The splendid body of national records preserved there, more voluminous, more continuous, more accessible, probably, than those of any other European nation, are for the most part now classified by subject and date. The authorities have been engaged for many years in printing calendars or analytical lists of certain classes of these papers in such a degree of fullness as will often preclude the necessity of the student's seeing the manuscript itself. These are the well-known *Calendars of State Papers,* of which there are now about three hundred volumes in print.

Unfortunately for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some other periods have been recently receiving a disproportionately large share of attention. About four volumes for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are being published to every one for the sixteenth and seventeenth. Curiously enough, there are at present many more people desirous of studying the patent-rolls and close rolls of the fourteenth century than the records of later periods, and it is they whom the Keeper of the Records is trying to satisfy. This must be amended by pressure from this side of the sea. The authorities of the Record Office, like all other authorities, are amenable to pressure; and if there is a steady, strong demand they will eventually recognize that American and English students want access to the papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and turn their attention toward satisfying them. However, both the Domestic papers and the Colonial records are already calendared well down beyond the dates chosen for this paper; and Foreign, Admiralty, Treasury, and other classes of papers are for our purpose less important. These printed calendars can be found in every large library in America and Europe, and an astonishingly large amount of useful investigation can be made from them alone, or from them in conjunction with other printed documents.

Nevertheless, the desire to do thorough and detailed work will in most cases sooner or later draw the investigator to London and make him for a while what is technically called a "searcher" in the Record Office. It is no hard fate. The conditions of study there are pleasant, the rules few and reasonable, the officials courteous and

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helpful. If handwriting is illegible and the reading of manuscripts slow work, it is in most cases made as light as possible by their careful preparation and their accessibility. Some of the manuscripts, it is true, are still crumpled, stained, dusty, and strung like fish on a string, but those yet in this raw state are few and are being steadily reduced in number. The officials are usually ready to put those of any special bundle quickly in order. The dust of ages is sometimes not metaphorical—but wash-stands are handy. Most explorers like to meet an occasional bit of jungle or desert, if only to give variety to the journey, and something to boast about afterward. Plans are being discussed for the organization of American historical work in London which will make it more pleasant and more profitable. In the study or exploitation of any such mass of material as that deposited in the Record Office and the British Museum there is always a plenteous harvest of new information to be garnered. The manuscript records of any great national collection contain just as much unknown material and of quite as much human interest as do the graves and mounds of Egypt or Babylonia, and there is much of the same fascination in the work of excavating it.

This being the condition of the sources, it is evident that there is no lack of material for study of the period 1580 to 1660. This paper is intended, then, simply to plead for a more minute, careful, methodical, scholarly study of English conditions and English events at the time of the first American migration, and to point out the practicability of such an investigation. What is needed is not so much a study of the great men of the period as of the typical men; not so much an account of the casual occurrences of the time as of its wide-spread institutions; not so much a narrative of the temporary conflicts of the English people as of their normal development. There is room for many laborers. The young historian, looking for work worthy of his enthusiasm; the worried professor, at a loss where to advise his young charge to go in search of a thesis-subject; the old, hardened investigator, looking for some new world to conquer; the student of American colonial history who follows his subject backward till it brings him tantalizingly to the very edge of the Atlantic—all these may find occupation and interest and enlightenment for themselves and for others in the field of investigation here pointed out.

And it is no uninteresting or repellent task. It takes us back, wandering children that we are, to our mother-country; it places us in the midst of the life, the variety, the excitement of Elizabethan and early Stuart England; in the study of local institutions, indeed

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in the study of almost any of the phases of the time, we are brought into contact with the rural and civic gentry of England, that great homogeneous, patriotic, and gifted body which was the real governing class of England, and from whose ranks came so many of the leaders at court and in Parliament, on land and at sea, in England and in America; it makes us onlookers at one scene in the development of English history, that longest, most continuous, and most momentous historical drama that the world has yet known.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

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THE LATER AMERICAN POLICY OF GEORGE CANNING

THE figure of Canning has hardly yet emerged from the mists of contemporary eulogy or depreciation. The policy of the man, of whom Lord Acton said "that no English Foreign Secretary *equalled* Canning", has not yet been fully understood even in its broad outlines. In America the greatness of the man is recognized, but the actual details of his policy are still somewhat obscure. His exact relations and concern with the Monroe doctrine are still not absolutely clear; and if this is the case with regard to that important phase of policy, it is still more the case with regard to his later diplomatic work. The old idea about Canning, expressed and championed by Stapleton, was that he was practically the author and suggester of the Monroe doctrine. The brilliant deductions of Mr. Reddaway, combined with the later research of Mr. W. C. Ford, have done much to define the limits and extent of his contribution to that memorable stroke of policy. It is at least clear that the Monroe doctrine had, in many important respects, been already formulated by American statesmen. Canning admitted the United States to be the leading power in America. Further, he rendered her an essential service in forcing Polignac, by a threat of war on October 9, 1823, to disclaim any idea of French aggression or influence to restore the revolted colonies to Spain. The publication of the presidential message on December 2, 1823, aided Canning materially in his European policy, because the European powers took that message in the sense of an unqualified support of British policy by the United States. But it is now known that Canning disapproved of that part of the presidential message which contained the first statement of the Monroe doctrine, when it announced that the continent of America would in future be closed to colonization by European powers. What is not known is how strong were his feelings on this point, and the means and policy by which he designed to render inoperative this part of the Monroe doctrine.

The object of the present article is to show that the later American policy of George Canning was intended to defeat certain claims and pretensions of the Monroe doctrine. These were the principle which forbade future colonization in America to European powers,

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and the principle which tended to make America a separate world from Europe. The motives which led Canning to recognize the Spanish-American republics, to send an envoy to the congress of Panama, and to take up a firm attitude on the Oregon question were all influenced and indeed conditioned by this idea. Adams, in formulating the presidential message, had denied the right of any European power to intervene in Spanish America, expressly on the ground of the withdrawal of Americans from European interests. Canning himself asserted the doctrine of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, and was the great foe of the Holy Alliance, which desired so to intervene. His great fear was that the world would be divided into a league of worn-out governments in Europe and new and vigorous republics in America. He was resolved therefore that England should maintain active political relations between one continent and the other, and thereby be enabled to enact England's favorite political rôle of arbiter between conflicting claims or pretensions. Hence he was prepared to introduce America into Europe and Europe into America, to deny the exclusive pretensions of the Holy Alliance to intervene in Spanish America, and check the exclusive pretensions of Adams to place his continent in a water-tight compartment and reserve America for the Americans.

Canning's famous boast that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old" has often been misunderstood. A recent writer, Colonel E. M. Lloyd,[1] even professes to doubt whether this was really the cause of recognition. There can however be no question of this, for several memoranda on the subject exist.[2] In them are detailed the inconvenience of the French continuing to occupy Spain:

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XVIII. 93 *et seqq.*

[2] Some historians, for example Colonel Lloyd and E. J. Stapleton (*Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, 2 vols., 1887, I. 213–214), have been misled by the fact that there were three memoranda: (1) A memorandum, apparently written by Canning, but perhaps corrected by Liverpool, indorsed with his approval, and circulated to the Cabinet (about November 30); see Wellington's *Despatches*, N. S., II. 354–358, and Charles D. Yonge, *Life and Administration of Liverpool* (3 vols., 1868), III. 297–304. (2) A memorandum—supplementary and qualifying—circulated in consequence of information received from Granville. It is undated, but must be about December 1–6. (3) A minute, embodying the collective opinion of the Cabinet, laid before the King by Canning on December 14, 1824, together with No. 1. This is in A. G. Stapleton, *George Canning and his Times* (1859), 407–411.

No. 2 is the most interesting, characteristic, and important. It is the memorandum "which enabled us to carry Columbia too [as well as Mexico] at the Cabinet". Canning to Granville, December 17, 1824. It is to be found in Vansittart's papers at the British Museum, Ad. MSS. 31, 237, f. 258. So far as I know, its existence, as well as its substance, have hitherto been unknown and

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The great practical question however for us seems to be how, in the event of an actual incorporation of the resources of Spain with those of France such an accession to the power of France can best be counteracted. I have no hesitation in saying this must be by a separation of the resources of Spanish America from those of Spain: and it is (at least in this point of view) a fortunate circumstance that this state of things [*i. e.*, the virtual independence of Spanish America] has already taken place; and that we are in a situation to avail ourselves of it.

This is merely a prosaic version of the famous rhetorical phrase. Canning is looking to America to redress the inequalities of Europe. Though this is of some interest as indicating the real cause of Canning's recognition, our purpose is with the American, not the European aspect of that recognition. Canning goes on to advocate the recognition not only of Buenos Ayres, but of Colombia and Mexico, from two motives. One motive is that Colombia and Mexico have English capital sunk in mining and territorial concerns of a more permanent interest than "mere commercial speculations". Then comes a passage of immense interest and importance:

The other and perhaps still more powerful motive is my apprehension of the ambition and ascendancy of the U[nited] S[tates] of Am[erica]: It is obviously the policy of that Gov[ernmen]t to connect itself with all the powers of America in a general Transatlantic League, of which it would have the sole direction. I need only say how inconvenient such an ascendancy may be in time of peace, and how formidable in case of war.

I believe we now have the opportunity (but it may not last long) of opposing a powerful barrier to the influence of the U[nited] S[tates] by an amicable connection with Mexico,[1] which from its position must be either subservient to or jealous of the U[nited] S[tates]. In point of population and resources it is at least equal to all the rest of the Spanish

unsuspected. The memorandum is unsigned; the handwriting appears to be Vansittart's, possibly with two corrections by Canning. The general character of the opinions, agreeing precisely with Canning's letters of the time to Granville, leave no doubt that the real author or inspirer is Canning. Mr. F. L. Paxson, in his able work on *The Independence of the South-American Republics* (1903), is quite unaware of the existence of this document, and his knowledge of English records is large.

[1] Italics my own. Compare with this passage the more unofficial and even more emphatic declaration in the letter of Canning to Frere, January 8, 1825, printed in Gabrielle Festing, *John Hookham Frere and his Friends* (1899), 267–268, and quoted in my *Life of Canning* (1905), 388: "The thing is done. . . . The Yankees will shout in triumph; but it is they who lose most by our decision. The great danger of the time—a danger which the policy of the European System would have fostered, was a division of the World into European and American, Republican and Monarchical; a league of worn-out Gov[ernmen]ts, on the one hand, and of youthful and st[i]rring Nations, with the U[nited] States at their head, on the other. *We* slip in between; and plant ourselves in Mexico. The Un[ited] States have gotten the start of us in vain; and we link once more America to Europe. Six months more—and the mischief would have been done." Almost every word of this is of immense importance.

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colonies; and may naturally expect to take the lead in its connections with the powers of Europe. I by no means think it at present necessary to go *beyond the mere relations of amity and commercial intercourse*; but if we hesitate much longer, and especially if our commercial treaty [July 23, 1824] with Buenos Ayres should not take effect, all the new states will be led to conclude that we regret their friendship upon principle, as of a dangerous and revolutionary character, and will be driven to throw themselves under the protection of the U[nited] S[tates], as the only means of security.

The importance of these words is equal to their emphasis, for they form the key to Canning's future American policy. He resumes that line of secret policy, which the younger Pitt had held in reserve, in order to checkmate any pretensions on the part of the United States. In 1790 Pitt had declared the right of England to Nootka Sound, as against Spain. In 1798, before the Spanish colonies revolted, he had coquetted with Miranda,[1] the first of Spanish-American liberators. There can be no doubt that in the latter instance Pitt saw the advantage of keeping up an understanding with South America, in order to check any claims or aggressions of the United States. Canning now, and under different circumstances, resumed this policy.[2] He meant to indicate to the South-American states that their true friend was distant England, not the adjacent English-speaking land.

During his later years commercial disputes and disputes about the slave-trade (in the second of which, at least, Canning did his best to conciliate the United States) served to increase irritation, but would not alone have sufficed to change his attitude. Canning had shown toward the United States diplomatists a large-minded tolerance and a frankness very unusual in diplomacy. He had paid the United States the exquisite compliment of saying that England would model her neutrality during the war between France and Spain on the neutrality toward England shown "in the presidency of Washington and secretaryship of Jefferson". Yet American statesmen certainly viewed Canning with undeserved suspicion.[3] The

[1] Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics*, 47.

[2] This policy is indicated, but only indicated, in my *Life of Canning*, 188. At that time I had not sufficient proofs to state it more emphatically. "The recognition was certainly opportune, it bound closer the new States to England, it restrained the pretensions of the Yankees, and preserved Cuba to Spain. The Panama Congress . . . was overshadowed by Canning, and partly through his influence the alliance between the United States and the South American Republics was never formed."

[3] See W. C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII. 38, on Adams's suspicions, and see Rush to Adams, November 26, 1823, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XV. 430–433. Both thought Canning did not really desire to separate

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failure of his negotiations with Rush in the September of 1823, and the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine, in its original and limited form, in the presidential message of December 2, 1823, alarmed him and revealed to him these suspicions. Henceforward he took up an attitude of opposition, or rather of armed neutrality, prepared to uphold what he conceived to be the claims of England against those of the United States. He was firm and yet cautious and reasonable, and his plan seems to have been to detach the South-American states from alliance with or dependence on the United States.

It will be best to discuss this later aspect of his policy under three heads: first to describe the exact amount of intercourse and diplomatic relation Canning felt England should observe with a South-American state; secondly to indicate, by a description of his influence on the congress of Panama, his policy toward Spanish America as a whole and its relations to the United States; thirdly to show in what light he regarded the question of Oregon, as affecting other parts of his American policy.

In his instructions given on February 28, 1826,[1] to Lord Ponsonby, appointed minister plenipotentiary to Buenos Ayres, Canning defines his view of the normal relations and attitude of England toward Spanish-American states. Ponsonby is to communicate the "anxiety of H[is] M[ajesty's] Gov[ernmen]t to restore and preserve peace among the new states of America; or the deep interest, which in the opinion of this Government, those states have, in avoiding to give room, by their differences with each other, for the interference of foreigners in their political concerns". An embittered quarrel was in progress between Brazil and Buenos Ayres over the possession of Montevideo. In a supplementary despatch of March 18, 1826, Canning discusses the claims of the two governments. Ponsonby is to divert "the Brazilian Minister from any attempt to change the practical question at issue [the possession of Montevideo] into one of abstract legitimate right". The Emperor of Brazil had apparently thought of recognizing the "unextinguished rights of Spain" to Montevideo, and thus depriving Buenos Ayres of any claim. Canning therefore instructs Ponsonby as follows: "important as the question of Monte Video may be to the Brazilian Gov[ernmen]t, it is scarcely less important that the discussion of that question should

from the Holy Alliance, whereas that was the main object of all his European policy. I cannot understand Mr. Paxson's contention in his *Independence of the South-American Republics*, 250, that England's policy was "legitimist in its real sympathies to the end". In view of the facts now known about Canning's attack upon the Holy Alliance, this seems to me untenable.

[1] Public Record Office, Foreign Office, Buenos Ayres 12.

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not be conducted on such principles, or supported on their side by such arguments, as to array against the monarchy of Brazil the common feeling and common interests of all the Republican States of Spanish America." Canning then warns the Brazilian government of trying "too high" the patience of Bolivar, who is being incited to undertake a war against Brazil, "for the express purpose of overturning a Monarchy, which stands alone on the vast continent of America, and which is considered by those enamoured of democratical forms of Government, as essentially inconsistent with the secure existence of the American Republicks". Canning suggests that Buenos Ayres has the strongest claim to Montevideo and has moreover force to back it. But if Montevideo were transferred to Buenos Ayres, it would still be reasonable "to secure to Brazil an uninterrupted enjoyment of the navigation of the river Plate". The British government would guarantee the observance of such stipulations. And though "on the general principle of avoiding as much as possible engagements of this character" the British government would prefer to stand aside, it would give this guaranty, "if it were desired by both parties . . . rather than that the treaty should not be concluded". Great Britain, "while scrupulously neutral in conduct" during the war, "cannot fail to be in favour of that Belligerent, who shall have shewn the readiest disposition to bring that dispute to a friendly termination". A secret instruction accompanies the despatch, informing Ponsonby that in case of "any essential change . . . in the form of government his functions will be suspended", and that he is "studiously to keep aloof from all political intrigues and all contentions of party in B[uenos] A[yres]".

Ponsonby's efforts at mediation and his attempts to interpose the friendly office of Great Britain between Brazil and Buenos Ayres ended in failure, and war began. Canning at once wrote (November 27, 1826[1]): "As to taking part with either side in the Contest your Lordship cannot too peremptorily repress any expectation of that nature." He then proceeds to explain the failure of the negotiations. "There is much of the Spanish character in the inhabitants of the Colonial Establishments of Spain; and there is nothing in the Spanish character more striking than its impatience of foreign advice, and its suspicion of gratuitous service." His original instructions had foreseen that the suggestion respecting Montevideo "was not unlikely to excite a jealousy of some design favourable to British interests. Such a jealousy has been openly inculcated by the publick press of the United States of North America, and no doubt secretly

[1] Public Record Office, F. O., Buenos Ayres 13.

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by their diplomatic Agents." He advises Ponsonby therefore "to let that matter drop entirely", unless Buenos Ayres itself should raise it. The best chance to suggest their doing so would be by "some slight manifestation of resentment at any such misconstruction of our motives." The last instruction of Canning on this point was to Ponsonby on February 21, 1827[1]: "Mr. Gordon [the new ambassador] will press the many considerations which render peace essential to the interests and safety of Brazil . . . with all the means in his power short of that degree of importunity, which after the repeated refusal, would become derogatory to the dignity of Great Britain".

Cobbett called Canning "Aeolus",[2] in contempt of the policy by which Canning sought to make England the arbiter of the world, by balancing parties and reconciling opinions in Europe. The policy is here seen, as applied to the New World. Non-intervention is strictly laid down as a principle, and is departed from only in the instance of offering a guaranty respecting Montevideo, and in that instance only in case both contracting parties agreed to and wished for it. Some suspicion of the United States is shown, and a clear desire expressed to maintain the monarchical principle in Brazil, not indeed by force of arms but by moral influence, and by dissuading its monarchical government from acts which might irritate the republics. This was to prevent the world's being split into two parts, one consisting entirely of effete monarchies, the other exclusively of vigorous republics. If a moderate constitutional monarchy, in the shape of Brazil, were to remain firmly established on the republican continent, England would thus be enabled to be arbiter between the New World and the Old, and hold the balance between the conflicting principles of despotism and democracy.

Canning's policy toward individual American states has thus been illustrated; it remains to describe it from the point of view of the American continent as a whole, and especially in its relation to the United States. This is best to be discerned in the negotiations relative to the congress of Panama, and in the various questions which there came up for discussion. The congress was announced with the most extravagant boasts and rodomontades, fully worthy of the swaggering Don Guzmans and Don Alvarados of Spanish romance. Bolivar and his friends frequently spoke of it as one of the most important events of the world's history. Vidiaurre, one of

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] In reference of course to Canning's famous application of the quotation "Celsa sedet Aeolus arce" to his own policy.

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the Peruvian representatives at the congress, communicated his generous emotions to the press in the following fashion.[1] Other representatives disclaimed the responsibility for his communication, but it represented—more or less—the general feeling of the time:

> An entire world is about to witness our labours. . . . From the first sovereign, to the last inhabitant of the Southern hemisphere nobody is indifferent to our task. This will probably be the last attempt to ascertain whether Mankind can be happy. Companions! the field of glory—cleared by Bolivar, Sn. Martin, O'Higgins, Guadalupe, and many others superior to Hercules and Theseus, is before us. Our names are about to be written either in immortal praise or in eternal opprobrium. Let us raise ourselves above a thousand millions of inhabitants, and may a noble pride inspire us, likening us to God himself on that day, when He gave the first laws to the Universe.

These aspirants after the fame of Moses, and even of God Himself, may not have had their names written "in eternal opprobrium", but they are hardly entitled to "immortal praise".

The gigantic pretensions of the congress were only equalled by its eventual failure. But it is at least interesting, in so far as the decision of Canning to send a representative to the congress necessitated a clear definition of English policy, covering the whole field of American affairs. In 1822 Canning had broken up the congress of the despots at Verona, but in 1826 he showed no desire to break up or dissolve the congress of the republicans at Panama. That congress was summoned by Bolivar, and was intended primarily to induce the Spanish-American states to form a united league against Spain, and force her to grant them recognition. Incidentally the congress naturally tended to discuss other questions than those of war, such as free trade, international law, the Cuban question, and so forth. England and the United States[2] were invited to send representatives. Canning quietly assented, but the question formed a thorny subject of debate in the Congress and Senate of the United States. Canning selected a Mr. Dawkins as the British representative, and began his instructions on March 17, 1826,[3] by informing him that the sole object of despatching him was to "obtain the most regular and correct information of its proceedings, and to assure the American States collectively of the friendly sentiments and the lively interest in their welfare and tranquillity" felt and expressed by the British Government. He deduces the motive of summoning an English

[1] Translation sent by Dawkins to Canning.

[2] The delegates from the United States never reached Panama at all. One of them died; the other did not go on his mission; and at Panama the congress was therefore without representation from the United States!

[3] Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 50*.

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representative to have been "a due sense of the benefits which they [the American states] have derived and continue to derive from a friendly intercourse with Great Britain, and a very natural desire to increase the importance of that assembly in the estimation of the Old World".

Two subjects mentioned in these instructions may be speedily dismissed. Canning tells Dawkins to forward in every way the settlement of the dispute between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, if it should come before the congress. Secondly he tells him to represent, "not by direct official intimation but you should not disguise the sentiments of your Gov[ernmen]t",[1] that Great Britain hopes the new states will adopt those principles of maritime law on which she has uniformly acted. "And you will take care to have it duly understood that our determination to act upon these principles, as it has not been shaken by European confederacies, so it will not be altered by any Resolution or combination of the States of the New World." The old contention of the United States that "free ships make free goods" was of course directly opposed to this. If the Spanish-Americans agreed with the United States, therefore, there might be serious trouble. Despite all his liberal and conciliatory ideas, Canning was immovable as adamant when he thought the honor or interest of England really concerned. He evidently did upon this occasion, and the words above quoted show that exclusively English policy which Adams described as the characteristic of Canning. Here then were the beginnings of a serious dispute, which the differences in the conference however rendered harmless.

Canning proceeds to define the general attitude of England toward the Spanish-American governments. He requests information

about their feelings towards each other, and the degree of influence in their concerns, which they may appear inclined to allow to the United States of North America. You will understand that to a league among the States, lately colonies of Spain, limited to objects growing out of their common relations to Spain, H[is] M[ajesty']s Gov[ernmen]t would not object.

But any project for putting the U[nited] S[tates] of North America at the head of an American Confederacy, as against Europe, would be highly displeasing to your Gov[ernmen]t. *It would be felt as an ill return for the service which has been rendered to those States, and the dangers which have been averted from them, by the countenance and friendship, and publick declarations of Great Britain; and it would too probably at no very distant period endanger the peace both of America and of Europe.*[2]

[1] This method of representation was used by Dawkins throughout the congress.

[2] The italics are my own. A passage of almost equal strength is to be found in further instructions of March 18, 1826, Canning to Dawkins (Public Record Office,

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It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of these words; they show the policy to the full, the attempt to detach the Spanish-Americans from the United States at all costs, by reminding them alike of the past services and the present power of England.

The two questions of real importance, which absorbed the attention of the congress, were the means of obtaining recognition from Spain for her revolted colonies, and the question of Cuba. In the first case the Spanish-American republics desired recognition from Spain, less because they feared her than because they feared complications or embroilments with France. Spain desired money, and therefore the question of a purchase scheme, of paying a sort of tribute in return for recognition, was discussed. It was eventually rejected. Canning had instructed Dawkins to offer the good offices of England for reopening negotiations with Spain, but refused to recommend or give an opinion on this purchase scheme. This plan was eventually thrown out by the congress.

Meanwhile Gual, the Colombian representative and the chief leader of the congress, read some published despatches of Everett, the United States minister in Spain. These had already been officially published, and were distinctly unfavorable in their criticism of the English attitude at Madrid. Among other things they stated, though quite inaccurately, that Mr. Lambe, the English ambassador at Madrid, had not been active in his exertions to persuade Spain to grant recognition. The astute Mr. Dawkins paid his almost daily visit to Gual on June 26,[1] and found him somewhat cold and incredulous as to the good wishes of England. Mr. Dawkins was surprised, went home and read the papers, and thereupon discovered the reason of this coldness in Mr. Everett's somewhat heated despatches. He promptly wrote to Gual and flatly contradicted Everett's state-

F. O., Colombia 50*). He has received a treaty between Colombia and Mexico (signed October 3, 1823) which serves to define the objects of the congress as: (1) "To confirm and establish intimate relations between the whole and each of the American States"; (2) "To serve as a council on great occasions; a point of union in common dangers; a *faithful interpreter of public treaties*, in cases of misunderstanding; and as an arbitrator and conciliator in disputes and differences". Canning comments: "If by the 'American States' in (1) are intended *only* the States heretofore Colonies of Spain; and if the functions, assigned to the Congress in (2), are to be discharged *only* between *those* States, there is no disposition in the British Govt. to question the propriety. . . . [You must] let it be known that an association in such mutual engagements of any State not partaking of the Spanish character, would be viewed by your government with great jealousy as approaching to that species of league of the Americas against Europe, which you are already apprized His Majesty could neither acknowledge nor approve." The italics here are Canning's.

[1] See the story in Dawkins to Canning. Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 50*. Everett's chief despatch is dated October 20, 1825.

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ments; finally he supplied Gual with copies of various despatches from England, which proved the exertions and sincerity of English attempts to secure recognition. English ascendancy at the congress was soon and completely recovered. Gual talked "unreservedly" to Dawkins "of the imprudence of the United States, of the errors committed by Mr. Everett, and of the mischief which may be done by the indiscreet publication of his correspondance [*sic*]". Gual further promised to bring a project of English mediation between Spain and the colonies before the congress. Here was another source of irritation between the United States and England. It was increased by the signing of a general confederative treaty between the Spanish-Americans on July 15. That treaty was one arranging for a common army and mutual defense between Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and Guatemala. It contained the clause, "any American State may be admitted into the Confederation within a year after the signature of the treaty." Dawkins promptly inquired of Mr. Gual whether this principle extended to the United States. His answer was, "Certainly if they will declare war against Spain." This was disquieting, and it is to be presumed that Mr. Dawkins then clearly defined the attitude of England and her opposition to the United States' joining such a league. However, as the United States had no intention of declaring war and never joined the league, the question dropped.

It was on the question of Cuba that events really turned. Cuba has well been termed the "Turkey of transatlantic politics", for the destiny of Cuba was the problem which engaged the attention of all the diplomatists of the age, of Bolivar and Villèle, of Canning and Adams. As early as October, 1822,[1] Canning had feared that the United States desired to seize Cuba. He wrote to his cousin, the English ambassador at Washington,[2] mentioning evidence of various sorts from the press, and from the reports of the officers of the United States navy, etc., etc. He concluded that the "grounds of suspicion are not such as to warrant our imputing a Design [to the United States] that is not avowed: and a jealousy manifested without cause is apt to suggest the very Evil which it deprecates." He also details French fears of English designs on Cuba, and similar fears on the part of the United States about England. To quiet these fears he told Stratford to make an express disavowal to the United States of any English designs on Cuba. But suspicion was

[1] George Canning to Stratford Canning, October 11, 1822, Public Record Office, F. O., America 165. Indorsed "Secret".

[2] George Canning to Stratford Canning, December 7, 1822, *ibid.*

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everywhere. Adams probably did not believe Stratford, and both England and the United States feared the French. Thus arose a strange kind of triangular duel, France suspecting England and the United States, the United States suspecting England and France, England suspecting France and the United States.

The suspicions appear to have been well-founded only in the case of France, where aggressive designs on Cuba were maturing in the dreamy brain of Chateaubriand[1] (then foreign minister of France) and were transmitted by him to Villèle. They also had a modicum of truth with regard to the United States. Secretary Adams[2] did not indeed desire to annex Cuba, but he desired to make it possible for Cuba to join the Union and become incorporated with the United States. This was one of the reasons why Adams declined to join with Canning in a joint declaration against the Holy Alliance in September of 1823. Had Adams brought the United States into line with Great Britain, both countries would have been pledged by Canning's provision that neither contracting state should acquire fresh territory. Adams saw that Cuba might solicit a union with the United States, but would not with Great Britain. Hence Adams held off, refused the joint declaration, and enunciated the Monroe doctrine in the presidential message of December 2, 1823. Adams made it possible for Cuba voluntarily to incorporate herself with the United States, and hoped that she would do so. This was the extent of his design upon Cuba. It was not grasping or aggressive like that of France, but it was not disinterested like that of Canning. The latter's idea was as follows: he certainly never had any notion of annexing Cuba for England, but he desired to maintain the status quo. If that was impossible, he was resolved, whatever happened, not to allow either France or the United States to annex or secure it. In 1825 he made a definite offer of guaranteeing it to Spain, on condition of her recognizing her revolted colonies to be independent states. Spain supinely refused, and toward the end of 1825 Can-

[1] *Œuvres Complètes* (ed. of 1902), XII. 363 *et passim*.

[2] *Memoirs*, VI. 177–178; for his suspicions of English designs on Cuba see *ibid.*, 203. In 1823 Monroe amended a despatch of Adams to this effect: that the United States had "no intention of acquiring any portion of the spanish possessions for ourselves, nor shall we ever do it by force". Adams brought on a debate in the Cabinet (November 21) and had the passage in question struck out! *Ibid.*, 193–196; AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII. 36, 38–39. At one time, indeed, Canning had offered to guarantee Cuba to Spain as the price of her recognition of her revolted colonies, and of peace; but Spain had refused. This was not so great a departure from neutrality as was now planned by Adams. Canning had made this offer in order to insure peace: Adams uttered sentiments and resolutions which might prolong war.

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ning was therefore faced by a new phase of this disagreeable problem. Bolivar and his friends were openly announcing their design of "liberating" Cuba; and to "liberate" Cuba Canning saw was to give the United States a pretext for interference. France was not much to be feared. She had already been threatened with war by Canning, if she intervened in the New World. In any case the fleet of England and the opposition—moral or otherwise—of both North and South America made her attempts impossible. France was not dangerous as an enemy but might be useful as an ally to check the United States. The latter power was infinitely the more dangerous because of the silent moral influence it might exert, and because it might interfere in Cuba, after Bolivar and his liberating armies had driven out the Spaniards.

Matters were complicated in the autumn of 1825 by the appearance of a French squadron off the coast of Cuba, which came ostensibly to collect a debt from Hayti. The French army had prefaced its march into Spain in 1823 by declaring that it only massed on the frontier so as to form a quarantine to prevent yellow fever and constitutional principles from coming over the Pyrenees. The French might well preface a naval attack on Cuba by an announcement that they merely intended to collect a debt from Hayti. Adams was not the man patiently to suffer this, and he prepared vigorously to resist, in case of a French attack on Cuba. Negotiations were entered into between the English and American governments, with reference both to the designs of France and to the designs of Bolivar. Vaughan, the English minister at Washington, conversed with the new Secretary of State, Henry Clay, on the latter subject, and actually "suggested an interference by the United States of America to dissuade the Mexicans and Columbians from making any attack upon Cuba". Canning heard this with immense indignation, for it ruined all his plans. He promptly disavowed Vaughan, and wrote him fresh instructions on February 8, 1826:[1]

> If it had been intended that you should treat . . . in a matter so delicate, as the proposed interference of neutral Powers to controul the legitimate operations of belligerents against each other, You would not have been left without instructions, upon a point of as much novelty, as delicacy and importance. If [went on Canning] the United States think their interests likely to be affected by the continuance of the war between Spain and the new transatlantick States they are probably right, and perfectly at liberty to employ their good offices to bring about a pacification.
>
> We have long endeavored to do so but in vain; and Spain has been uniformly the recusant party. If the United States think that particular

[1] Public Record Office, F. O., America 209.

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interests of their own require that a certain operation of war should not be undertaken by one of the belligerents,—it is a question, and a very nice one for them, . . . but it is manifest that we have not the like interest either to induce or to justify us in so unusual an interposition. . . . If it be merely the interests of the United States that are concerned, that ground of interference can only belong to them, nor is there any obligation upon us, to share the odium of such an interposition.

Such then was the situation when the Panama congress met, Bolivar and his friends openly proclaiming their intention of attacking Cuba, France darkly pursuing her own designs, the United States openly proclaiming its intention of checking Bolivar in its own interests, Canning holding the balance aloof and neutral. He saw and took the opportunity of dividing the United States and the Spanish-American republics on this Cuban question, and of contrasting the moderation of England to the latter with the more aggressive attitude of the United States. In his instruction to Dawkins on March 18, 1826, he inclosed copies of despatches to and from France and the United States.

You will see how earnestly it is desired by the U[nited] S[tates], by France and by this country that Cuba should remain a Colony of Spain. The B[ritish] Gov[ernmen]t indeed, so far from denying the right of the new States of America to make a hostile attack upon Cuba, whether considered simply as a possession of a power with whom they are at war, or as an Arsenal from which expeditions are fitted out against them, that We have uniformly refused to join with the U[nited] S[tates] in remonstrating with Mexico and Columbia against the supposed intention, or intimating that we should feel displeasure at the execution of it. We *should indeed regret it but we arrogate to ourselves no right to control* the operations of one belligerent against another. The Government of the U[nited] S[tates] however professes itself of a different opinion. It conceives that the interests of the U[nited] S[tates] would be so directly affected by either the occupation of Havannah by an invading force, or by the consequences which an attack upon Cuba, even if unsuccessful, might produce in the interior of the island, that the Cabinet of Washington hardly disguises Its intention to interfere directly, and by force, to prevent or repress such an operation. Neither England nor France could see with indifference the U[nited] S[tates] in occupation of Cuba. Observe, therefore, the complicated consequences to which an expedition to Cuba by Mexico or Columbia might lead, and let the States assembled at Panama consider whether it is worth while to continue a war, the only remaining operation of which, (that is likely to be sensibly felt by their adversary) is thus morally interdicted to them by the consequences to which it would lead.

As all know, the result of the congress was complete failure. It is probable that even the much-vaunted project of an attack upon Cuba by the Spanish-Americans was only a threat to dispose Spain toward recognition. The vast scheme of a united army of Spanish-

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American confederates was concluded upon paper but was never realized in fact. One result only followed, that the policy of Canning had certainly done something to make the United States an object of suspicion to the Spanish-Americans. This is shown by the despatch of Dawkins to Canning upon October 15, in which he summed up the general results of the congress. The United States, he says, had failed to get any commercial treaties in its favor, owing to the opposition of Mexico and Peru.

> The general influence of the United States is not, in my opinion, to be feared. It certainly exists in Columbia, but it has been very much weakened even there by their protests against an attack on Cuba, and by the indiscretions they have committed at Madrid.[1]

In all this the general policy of Canning is clear. According to Adams the European and American continents were to be regarded as being in water-tight compartments; according to Canning there was to be a free intercourse between them, and American powers were, if necessary, to play their part in European politics. Canning sought to induce the United States into a joint declaration with him against the Holy Alliance in 1823, and failed. Circumstances drew him away from the United States in later years, but he did not scruple to introduce American influence into European affairs. On October 13, 1825,[2] he inserted the following most significant passage in his instructions to the English ambassador at Constantinople. The Sultan is to be warned of insulting too grossly, by his acts, the moral opinion of the world:

> The recent events in the Western hemisphere have approximated, as it were, the different divisions of the world to each other, and have brought new Powers to bear on every question of political struggle or change, in whatever part of the globe it may arise. The Porte cannot doubt that all the inhabitants of both Americas to a man, are in their hearts favourers of the Greek cause, and might at no distant period become active co-operators in it. This is not the language of intimidation, it is that of truth.

The contrast between the policy of Canning and that of Adams is very significant. Adams had, in the strongest manner, disclaimed any idea of anything but the merest expression of academic sympathy with the Greek struggle against the Turks, and had overruled Monroe with reference to this point in the autumn of 1823.

> The ground that I wish to take [writes he in his diary[3]] is that of earnest remonstrance against the interference of the European powers

[1] Public Record Office, F. O., Colombia 36.

[2] Public Record Office, F. O., Turkey 133, quoted in my *Life of Canning*, 213.

[3] November 21, 1823, *Memoirs*, VI. 197–198, quoted by Reddaway, *Monroe Doctrine* (ed. of 1898), 64.

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by force with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; to make an American cause, and adhere inflexibly to that.

England was desirous that America should mix in European politics, and for this reason: England had no entangling alliance either with monarchies in Europe or with republics in America; any interference or mingling of one with the other was bound to turn to the advantage of England. So much then for Canning's attempt to introduce America into Europe.

In attempting to break down that part of the Monroe doctrine which forbade America to be used for future European colonization, Canning used several means. As we have seen, the recognition of America was decided upon partly in order to teach the new states to lean upon England, not upon the United States. At the congress of Panama Canning played on the fears and jealousies excited between the Spanish-Americans and North-Americans over the question of Cuba. One further phase or aspect of his policy remains to be noticed, his attitude toward the Oregon question. The actual question of rights has never been definitely settled either way. What Canning felt on the subject is clear enough. Astoria had been made over to the United States in 1818. Canning commented upon this to Liverpool on July 7, 1826:

> . . . think what a task it will be to justify this transaction to Par[liamen]t, if upon this transaction we rest our justification for abandoning the whole N. W. Coast of America to the Yankees. *I feel the shame of such a statement burning upon my face by anticipation.*[1]

Canning announced his intention of taking his stand immovably upon the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The English boundary was to extend to that degree on the south, and no consideration would induce him to recede from this position. He was induced to this course by what he conceived to be the just claims, the honor, and the interest of England. He saw "that the ambitious and overbearing views of the [United] States are becoming daily more developed, and better understood in this country",[2] and he was resolved and determined to check them. Also he saw the advantages England would gain from an eventual "immense direct intercourse between China and what may be, if we resolve not to yield them up, her [England's] boundless establishments on the N. W. Coast of

[1] E. J. Stapleton, *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning*, II. 73; the italics are my own. On Astoria see Public Record Office, F. O., America 129, 165–168; on Oregon, America 191–192. There is not much in these two volumes on the Oregon question not indicated or described already in Stapleton.

[2] Stapleton, *op. cit.*, II. 73.

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America."[1] For these reasons Canning decided to assert the claims of England and check the pretensions of England's great American rival.

> The avowed pretensions of the United States to put themselves at the head of the confederacy of all the Americans, and to sway that Confederacy against Europe (Great Britain included) is *not* a pretension identified with our interests, or one that we can countenance or tolerate. It is however a pretension which there is no use in contesting in the abstract, but we must not say anything that seems to admit the principle.[2]

If Canning was not prepared to contest it in the abstract, he certainly was in the concrete. Hence his firm stand on the Oregon question was due to the advantages likely to accrue to British trade with China and British prestige in America. There was a further and unexpressed reason, and that is that Canning could not but have perceived the advantage of retaining this boundary, in order to bring England nearer to Mexico. For that state he had an especial care, both because of its resources and because of its proximity to the United States. He saw that it would be probable that any expansion of the United States would take place toward Mexico. Adams contemplated the eventual incorporation of Texas in the Union.[3] He also endeavored to advance the United States boundary to the River Bravo del Norte, but was overruled by his colleagues in the Cabinet. Here again would have been Canning's opportunity to use every fresh aggression from the United States to teach the Spanish-Americans that their true friend and ally was not the United States but England. Every such attempt of the United States would frighten Mexico and increase the bond between her and England.

Here then emerges a policy, definite, compact, and coherent, a resolute resolve not to admit the Monroe doctrine, a determination

[1] *Ibid.*, 74.

[2] Canning to Vaughan, February 18, 1826, Public Record Office, F. O., America 209.

[3] Incorporation, not annexation. J. T. Morse, *John Quincy Adams* (ed. of 1898), 131, 135, 266–267; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 178. There is a most significant passage on Mexico in William Huskisson's *Speeches* (London, 1831, three vols.), III. 579–580, May 20, 1830: "If the United States have declared that they cannot allow the island of Cuba to belong to any maritime power in Europe, Spain excepted, neither can England, as the first of those maritime powers—I say it fearlessly, because I feel it strongly—*suffer the United States to bring under their dominion a greater portion of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico than that which they now possess.*" The italics are my own. This passage has a greatly added interest when we reflect that Huskisson was the devoted follower of George Canning, and had special knowledge of American affairs as joint-commissioner with Stratford Canning in the conference with Rush about Oregon in 1824. It may reasonably be deduced that, in the above-quoted passage, he is voicing the sentiments of his deceased master in foreign policy.

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to bring the Spanish-American states into close relations with England. The Old World was to be revived with the vigorous life of the New, the New to be tempered with the moderation of the Old, England to hold the balance between them. It is impossible not to admire the boldness and extent of the design, the vastness or profundity of its conceptions. Great indeed was the insight which looked so far ahead as to see the commercial advantages of a trade between China and northwest America, or to find in Mexico the most hopeful of Spanish-American states. On December 17, 1824, Canning wrote to Granville: "The deed is done, the nail is driven, Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, *she is English.*" In Canning's later policy may be found the explanation of this apparently cryptic sentence. England did "mismanage [her] affairs sadly"; for no English statesman after him realized, as Canning did, that the future lay as much in the New World as in the Old. The utter impotence of the Spanish-American republics could perhaps not have been foreseen, and was a cause of failure apart from the defects of British statesmen. But none the less the entire devotion of Palmerston and Aberdeen to affairs European explains much of the success of United States policy.

We are now in a position to understand what seem the strange comments of Adams and Rush upon Canning's policy. The first thought his policy entirely English, the second called Canning "a Briton, through and through;—British in his feelings, British in his aims, British in all his policy and projects."[1] This characterization is strange to Englishmen. The deliverer of Europe from the toils of the Holy Alliance acquired no territory but only influence for England. To Englishmen it seems that, though Canning may have loved England best, his heart yet beat high for the general interests of the world. Yet Canning's later attitude toward America explains this characterization, for during that time he was straining every nerve to foil the United States, and hence the judgment of its diplomatists upon him. Yet even toward America the policy of Canning was marked, in many respects, by a noble disinterestedness. At no time did he contemplate using disturbances in the New World as a pretext for seizing exclusive advantages for England. Annexation of territory is an object supposed by most other nations to be the key-note of England's foreign policy. At least it had no part in the plans of England's greatest foreign minister, during whose second period of office

[1] Richard Rush, "Character of Mr. Canning", in *Occasional Productions* (Philadelphia, 1860), 190; Adams's view may be seen in W. C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VII. 680.

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not a single inch of territory was annexed. All Canning ever aimed at was to exalt the influence of England and the principle of non-intervention. In only two cases did he ever make any attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of states in the New World: in the one case when he offered to guarantee the stipulations of the treaty between Brazil and Buenos Ayres in 1826, in the other when he offered to guarantee Cuba to Spain in 1825. In both these cases his attitude was exceptional, and he stood to gain no exclusive advantage for England. He showed great disinterestedness by offering to Portugal and Spain most generous terms as the price of their recognition of Brazil and the Spanish-American colonies respectively. He agreed in each case that the mother-country should enjoy commercial advantages superior to those of any other nation, a concession of extraordinary generosity. He never claimed in commercial negotiations to get an exclusive or preferential treatment, but only an equality with other nations.

On the other hand, Adams aimed always at securing commercial treaties with Spanish America on the basis of exclusive treatment. And as with commercial, so with political advantages. In September, 1823, Canning offered to associate England with the United States in a joint declaration against the Holy Alliance, pledging neither to seize nor to occupy territory. Adams refused, because he desired (as Canning did not for England) to leave the door open for the incorporation, if not for the annexation, of such states as Texas or Cuba. Adams may have been right to refuse on the exclusive ground of the interests of the United States, and his declaration of the Monroe doctrine was certainly a most brilliant stroke of policy. But that Canning in his later policy was following the dictates of a larger and more tolerant doctrine seems also clear, though that the line which he adopted was likely to lead at length to conflict between the United States and England seems also unfortunately true.

The United States have now established beyond dispute their claims to forbid future European colonization in the American continent. But at least few can read without interest the views of the great English statesman, whose last years were spent in endeavoring, by every means of diplomatic skill and ingenuity, to check the pretensions of that Monroe doctrine which is inseparably associated with his own name and that of Adams. All must rejoice that, through whatever means, that conflict was avoided; and, since Americans have never refused a tribute to the genius of Canning, Englishmen should be the last to refuse to acknowledge that of Adams.

H. W. V. Temperley.

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THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE SOUTHERN BLACK BELTS[1]

In a former essay[2] I have shown, from a study of slave prices, that slavery became an economic burden in America, and that the purchase of the unfree laborers made a great drain upon the earnings of the community which imported them. American slaveholding was essentially industrial in character; and industry under the slave-using system was essentially capitalistic. For the sake of controlling the labor, a very large portion of the capital was invested in the legal ownership of the labor itself. This system was expensive not only to the individual planter, but to the whole community. If other sections and periods of the slaveholding South were analyzed, the burdensomeness of slaveholding and the slave-trade, which I have demonstrated for the cotton belt, would be found to have prevailed as a very general phenomenon.

The present study is concerned with the tendency of slavery as a system of essentially capitalistic industry to concentrate wealth, such as there was, within the hands of a single economic class and within certain distinctive geographical areas. Aside from land, slaves were in the South by far the principal form of wealth. The study of the administrative and geographical concentration of slave property is of course a study of the growth of the plantation system and of the black belts produced by it.

At any time in any typical district of the South, there were non-slaveholders, small slaveholders, and large slaveholders. Most members of each of these classes were engaged in agriculture. The non-slaveholder tilled his land by the labor of himself and his family. The large slaveholder tilled his by the labor of his slaves under supervision. The small slaveholder often combined the labor of his slaves, his family, and himself in a mixed system. Thus there were

[1] The research of which this article is a product has been materially aided by the American Bureau of Industrial Research, by the United States Census Bureau, and by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

[2] "The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt", published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1905 (XX. 257–275). Further studies of a complementary nature are: "The Economics of the Plantation", in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July, 1903 (II. 231–236), and "The Plantation as a Civilizing Factor", in the *Sewanee Review* for July, 1904 (XII. 257–267).

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small, medium, and large units of industry, which have been distinguished as small farms, large farms, and plantations. In each of these types of organization a more or less definite system of labor and administration was followed. This is a static view of the Southern industrial régime, and with more or less elaboration has been the one nearly always presented by historians and economists alike.

This description should be not the end of the matter, but a mere preface to the study of the dynamic forces at work and of the result which they effected in shaping the economic and social life and in controlling political policies. It is the dynamic view which is essential for the full understanding of the South. An emphasis upon the dynamic phase of Southern conditions and upon the plantation system as a principal factor in the shaping of Southern economy is the chief contribution here attempted.

At the outset in some of the Southern colonies there were experiments with systems of joint labor and paternalism. As soon as these had given place to private enterprise, there began the differentiation of the two chief industrial types, the plantation and the farm, which were thenceforth to be characteristic. In each instance settlement was first made on the seaboard, and prosperity was first achieved where certain staple crops could be raised and exported to market. The great abundance of land available and the short-lived fertility of most of the soil caused a great hunger for land and a rapid extension of settlement to satisfy that hunger. Thus the westward movement set in; and the van of it was made up of small farmers. While actually modified by many complications, which must here with doubtful safety be left out of account, the chief influence shaping the migration was the competition of industrial units.

After a certain period in the production of each staple, whether tobacco, rice, or cotton, the increase of the output caused a reduction of prices and profits, and brought distress to the less efficient of the producers, forcing many of them to abandon the industry. The Southern staples were all excellently adapted to production by the plantation system. The small producers were accordingly at a disadvantage, and were in most cases the first to make a change. The farmers tended to drift to the edge of settlement and to assert some independence of the staples by producing as far as possible the articles which their own families needed to consume. The further the farmer removed from tide-water and markets, the greater his tendency to a self-sufficing economy.

Many of the planters were also on the move. The tide of small farmers advancing toward the frontier in search of new opportunity

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was followed in many areas by a tide of planters who sought new openings where their capital might be employed more advantageously than in the older areas where the competition was more stringent. Districts which from the lack of the required qualities of soil or climate or of facilities of transportation were not available for the planters could be enjoyed by the farmers alone; but all others were entered by the planters sooner or later, and after more or less conflict were dominated by them.

Some of the non-slaveholders moved away from the encroaching plantations and settled anew as yeomen farmers; others by thrift bought slaves and in time became planters; others simply held their own in spite of the disadvantage of competing with negro labor in the same industry; while still others retrograded in the scale of life, drifted to the barren tracts, and lived from hand to mouth as anemic poor-whites. The planters, meanwhile, continued to encroach wherever they could upon the territory already occupied in part by the smaller industrial units. The very nature of the plantation system caused this phenomenon. The case was very much like that of the great commercial and industrial organizations of to-day, whose nature requires them to encroach wherever possible upon the spheres of their weaker rivals.

The economic history of the Old South in its plantation districts was made up very largely of extensions and repetitions of the same general phenomena. One suitable area after another was occupied by much the same process. The period of occupation was followed by the same strife of industrial systems, which resulted usually in the victory of plantation methods. Then the planters continued to compete among themselves, and wore out such soil as was exhaustible. The final stage, reached in a few districts, was either a change to varied industry to which the plantation system was unsuited, or the partial depopulation of the country through the exodus of all the more energetic producers to new and more attractive lands. Superficially the process worked with a considerable variety in the several districts; but fundamentally the conditions and the development were a simple process, repeated in one area after another.

The theme is one whose treatment is readily aided by the use of statistics. Take for example the county of Crawford, which lies in a good cotton district in middle western Georgia. The state secured this tract from the Indians in 1821, and quickly threw it open to settlement through the agency of that highly democratic institution, the Georgia land lottery. The land was divided into tracts of 202½ acres each, and distributed by lottery among all the citizens of the state who were fortunate in the drawing. Immi-

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grants of various types flowed in apace, and within a few years the population had reached the normal density for the state in that period. Then ensued the usual contest of the systems for domination. We happen to have a census of population and slaveholdings in Crawford county in 1824,[1] just three years after its opening, and another in 1860, when the county had become an undistinguished part of the upland cotton belt. A comparison of the data furnished by the two enumerations will show the effects of the competition of industrial units and systems which we are studying.

SLAVEHOLDINGS IN 1824

Owners.	*Slaves each.*	*Owners.*	*Slaves each.*
27	1	6	10
18	2	2	11
17	3	1	12
9	4	2	13
7	5	2	15
9	6	1	20
4	7	1	28
1	8	1	31
5	9	1	42

SLAVEHOLDINGS IN 1860

Owners.	*Slaves each.*	*Owners.*	*Slaves each.*
51	1	34	10 and under 15
56	2	28	15 " " 20
30	3	20	20 " " 30
30	4	18	30 " " 40
19	5	8	40 " " 50
19	6	7	50 " " 70
16	7	1	70 " " 100
12	8	4	100 " " 200
16	9		

The total number of whites in 1824 was 1,781; and in 1860, 3,407; total slaves in 1824, 579; and in 1860, 4,270; free blacks negligible. The whites in 1824 were enumerated in 230 families, of which 116 had no slaves, and 114 possessed slaveholdings of an average size of five negroes each. In 1860 the white families had increased to about 630, of which 369 had slaveholdings averaging 11.6 in size. The average slaveholding had more than doubled in size. The most marked feature of the contrast is the growth in number and size of the larger slaveholdings—in a word, the passage of the domination of the community from the men of few or no slaves to the men of the planter class.

This was an obvious and normal development. The men with the fewest impedimenta were of course the quickest in their move-

[1] The census for 1824 was made by the state authorities. The returns are in manuscript in the state capitol at Atlanta. The figures for 1860 are from the *Eighth United States Census*, volume on agriculture, 226.

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ments.[1] But the large slaveholders, though more slowly, moved surely. They gradually bought up the lands of the drawers in the lottery who did not wish to occupy their lots, and of such of their neighbors as might decide to move farther west. Thus they accumulated large tracts which would justify and maintain the plantation system. As years went on planters continued to come in from the east. Some indeed after a period of residence moved west, but their further westward journey when made at all was usually more deliberate and later than that of the smaller farmers, who moved out in search of new opportunity as easily as they had moved in in search of it.

The plantations grew in number and in size as well. The farms expanded less, if indeed their number and area did not actually decrease. In some other districts which will be considered below, the tendency to the domination by the planters, and in the long run their well-nigh complete possession of the district, was considerably more rapid and sweeping.

We are now ready to consider more fully the dynamic conditions of life and industry. The first form of society in almost every part of the South was that of the normal wilderness-frontier, in which industry was primitive, commerce rudimentary, and society individualistic in notable degree. There was little opportunity for specialization of industry or for any regular routine work.[2] The greater the versatility of the individual settler, when completely isolated, and the less the degree of routine, the greater was his progress in the comforts of his own homely production. So soon as he began to produce a surplus, however, and to establish a commercial connection with the rest of the world, the need of extreme versatility diminished and the value of routine increased.

If a normal development had been followed, these frontier farmers through exporting a specific surplus product would have accumulated capital, and would have developed an industrial and social system like that of Europe and the American settlements to the northward. But wherever it was possible to produce a marketable surplus through strictly routine industry in agriculture, this normal progress was interrupted in the South by an invasion of the plant-

[1] The restlessness of the frontier farmers is strikingly illustrated in the so-called "autobiography" of Gideon Lincecum, printed in the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VIII. 443–519.

[2] *Cf.* letter of the Reverend John Urmstone to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (ed. of 1859), II. 215.

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ers, who brought with them a cheaper supply of labor, with a more effective system of routine work.

While the life of the frontiersman, and of every self-sufficing farmer, was a succession of changes from one occupation to another, the economic life on the plantations was made as far as possible a fixed routine. Just as in the case of the factory system, which of course is entirely analogous as regards labor organization, the success of industry depended upon its regularity and the constant repetition of similar tasks.

On the larger plantations some of the weaker negroes were often assigned to spinning, weaving, sewing, and like occupations in the line of domestic manufactures,[1] while slaves of unusual ability were often employed altogether as plantation carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, etc.[2] There was always of course a supply of domestic servants in each well-to-do planter's household. Occasion also frequently arose for detaching part of the force of field-hands for sundry small tasks, whether for the benefit of the one plantation alone or in some joint undertaking of the neighborhood. But by far the greater part of the available labor supply was used for the routine work in the fields, under the direction of either the master, the overseer, or a foreman.

On most estates the laborers were divided into two or more groups for the better adjustment of the strength of the laborers to the needs of their tasks. For example, in the upland cotton districts it was customary to set apart the strongest laborers as plow-hands, while the rest used the hoe, and each group worked under its

[1] For example, the "Worthy Captaine Matthews" with his weavers, his tannery, and his eight shoemakers, as well as his dairy, wheat-fields, etc., described in 1649 by the author of "A Perfect Description of Virginia". Reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, vol. II., no. VIII., pp. 14–15. Another striking instance is shown incidentally in the papers of Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall (manuscripts in possession of Virginia Historical Society). In 1782 Carter, a great Virginia planter, was operating a "Woolen and Linen Factory" at Aires, with six negro weavers and four negro winders, under the management of Daniel Sullivan. But apparently the profits did not justify the use of slave labor, and the enterprise was given up.

[2] This practice had its disadvantages. Witness the following extract from a letter of Colonel J. B. Lamar, a large Georgia planter, to his sister, Mrs. Howell Cobb, in 1846 (manuscript in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin of Athens, Georgia): "My man Ned the carpenter is idle or nearly so at the plantation. He is fixing gates and like the idle groom in Pickwick trying to fool himself into the belief that he is doing something . . . While I was gone I had him in town and on returning found that he had been drunk and fighting, and misbehaving in every way, so that I have banished him to rural life. He is an eye servant. If I was with him I could have the work done soon and cheap, but I am afraid to trust him off where there is no one he fears. . . . I shall sell the rascal the first chance I get."

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own supervisor.[1] Upon many estates of small dimensions the owner would lead the plow-gang, making his own furrow, and requiring the negroes to keep pace with him, while his son would do likewise with the hoe-gang. Or if the planter spared himself from the manual labor, he would oversee the work either in person or through a hired overseer, or in many cases through a reliable slave whom he constituted foreman or "driver" and vested with authority subordinate to his own. In some localities, as in most of the Carolina rice district, the negroes instead of being worked strictly in gangs were given tasks of hoeing or plowing a specified area for each day.

Whether the method followed was the task system or the gang system, the great characteristic feature and the strength of the plantation method was in its division of labor and above all in its arrangement for the performance by the negroes of a labor nearly always of routine character. The routine system was the only system by which the unintelligent, involuntary negro labor could be employed to distinct advantage; and, other things being equal, the most successful planter was always he who arranged the most thorough and effective routine.

The saving of time and effort, together with the protection of the life, health, and strength of the laborers, were the essential requirements of success in the profitable use of slave labor under American conditions.[2] That success was heightened, of course,

[1] The gang system on the great sugar estates in Jamaica in the eighteenth century was described by Bryan Edwards in his *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, bk. 4, chap. 5 (first edition, London, 1793, II. 128–129). The negroes were there worked in three sets, or gangs, he says. The first set, comprising most of the robust men and women, was employed in clearing the land, digging the holes, planting the cane, and in crop-time tending the mill. On the average plantation it included about one-third of the whole number of slaves, exclusive of domestics. The second set, composed of boys and girls, women in pregnancy, and convalescents, was employed in weeding the canes and other light work. The third set was of young children, attended by an old woman. They gathered feed for the pigs, weeded the gardens, etc., with the purpose mainly of being kept from idleness and learning habits of industry.

[2] The road to the fullest success is pointed out by Richard Corbin, a great Virginia planter, in a letter of instruction and advice, January 1, 1759, to James Semple, who was to be his agent during his protracted absence from home. He writes: "The care of [the] negroes is the first thing to be recommended that you give me timely notice of all their wants that they may be provided with all necessarys. . . . Observe a prudent and a watchful conduct over the overseers that they attend to their business with diligence, keep the negroes in good order, and enforce obedience by the example of their own industry, which is a more effectual method in every respect of succeeding and making good crops than Hurry and Severity: the ways of industry are constant and regular, not to be

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when by fostering a sentiment of affection and loyalty, or by means of a system of inexpensive rewards, zeal was made to replace fear as a motive to labor.

Where the above-named features were present, the plantation system was probably the most efficient method ever devised for the use of stupid labor in agriculture on a large scale. Its efficiency was so great in the ante-bellum South that when slave labor became scarce and dear the planters were the only ones who could afford to buy it as a steady practice. It is true that a few corporations owned slaves for their service. For example, the Athens (Georgia) Manufacturing Company owned eight slaves in 1850[1]; the South Carolina Railroad Company bought seventy-eight slaves for its service between 1845 and 1860[2]; and for a period prior to 1834 the state of Georgia attempted to use state-owned slaves for developing her roads and waterways.[3] But as a rule corporations found it more advantageous to use free labor wherever possible; and when the use of slaves was necessary they preferred to hire them from their owners rather than to buy them and run the risk of loss from their illness, death, or escape.[4] Where possible, indeed, it was fre-

in a hurry at one time and do nothing at another, but to be always usefully and steadily employed. A man who carries on business in this manner will be prepared for every incident that happens. He will see what work may be proper at the distance of some time and be gradually and leisurely providing for it, by this foresight he will never be in confusion himself and his business instead of a labor will be a pleasure to him . . . " (manuscript in Virginia Historical Society Library, Richmond, Virginia).

[1] Manuscript tax digest, Clarke County, Georgia, 1850.

[2] At prices ranging from $400 to $1,500. List printed, with names, dates, and prices, in *Report of the President* of the South Carolina Railroad Company for 1864. Copy in the Charleston Library, Charleston, South Carolina.

[3] William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of Georgia, 1819 to 1829* (Milledgeville, 1831), 399. Act appropriating $50,000 for the purchase of additional able-bodied negroes in number sufficient to make a total of 190 when added to those already owned by the state. *Federal Union* (a newspaper published at Milledgeville, Georgia), January 29, 1834. Advertisement by W. C. Lyman, superintendent of roads for the eastern division of Georgia, giving notice that he will sell at auction on stated days in March and April 118 slaves belonging to the state of Georgia and attached to the several road-tending stations in his division.

[4] *E. g.*, the *Palladium* (Frankfort, Kentucky), December 1, 1868. Advertisement: "Negro Men Wanted. The subscribers wish to hire three or four Negro Men, to work in their Factory in Frankfort. They will be taught Weaving, and liberal wages will be paid for their services. Apply immediately to Danl Weisiger and Co."

Cf. also *Report of the Macon and Western R. R.* (Georgia) for 1859. Under the heading of repairs to the road, the superintendent lists the "labor of 100 negroes [*i. e.*, slaves] with overseer and supervisor, an average of $200 each (including food and clothing), $20,000". (See next page.)

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quently much preferred to avoid either the purchase or hiring of slaves in such enterprises as the building of railways, by letting out the work on contract to the planters who lived near by and could use their own slaves under their own personal superintendence.

Paternal attention was necessary as a safeguard against serious losses and disaster. Its necessity was recognized increasingly as the cost of slave labor mounted higher and higher in the nineteenth century. The competition of planters became keener; and the preservation of the health, happiness, and vigor of the laborers, as well as the maintenance of firm control over them, became more essential than ever for success in plantation industry.[1] When planters were absentees, there was pressing need of securing overseers of qualifications not alone of honesty, but of carefulness, forcefulness, knowledge, industry, and tact.[2] Where these qualities were lacking in the director, the enterprise often went to wreck.

Cf. also the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Georgia), January 12, 1854: "High price of Hands.—The *Norfolk Argus* says it has never known the demand for slaves greater than at the present season, nor that description of labor scarcer or higher than at the present season. Many farmers, rather than engage at the present rates, consider it more prudent to curtail their agricultural establishments. Ordinary field hands have commanded as high as one hundred and fifty dollars, and No. 1 laborers have readily brought $225, accompanied with a life insurance for the value of the slave. The great demand for laborers proceeds from the turpentine regions in North and South Carolina, as well as the works of railroad improvements which are soon to commence."

[1] *Cf.* Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1859), 45.

[2] The overseer problem was a difficult and vital one in the conduct of the large estates, particularly when a planter had more than one plantation. The following narrative will illustrate. It is taken from the plantation records of Louis Manigault, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina, who owned the two adjacent rice plantations "Gowrie" and "East Hermitage" on the Savannah River, operating them as a single large establishment. The records were made year by year in a continuous account. The manuscripts are now in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, of Pinopolis, South Carolina. The narrative for 1855 relates that the death of his overseer on December 7, 1855, left Mr. Manigault alone on the plantation. After refusing many applications for the place, he employed Leonard F. Venters, a young man of twenty-four years who had had experience near Georgetown, South Carolina, and was well recommended. Early in May Manigault left the plantation, as usual, for the summer. "Venters", he says in the account of operations, "made two great and fatal mistakes. He drew off his 'Sprout Water' too rapidly, prostrating his rice to the ground, and again he left his fields dry too long before he could get at them to give first hoeing. His rice was all stunted, sickly, and grass took him. We have made one half a crop. He says 'he will do better another year that now he sees into it', and as is well known, 'never change an overseer if you can help it', we try him once (but only once) more. We have purchased 19 [additional] negroes, amongst them 13 prime hands, costing in all $11,850. Also 771 acres High Land on Georgia Main for Cholera Camps, Children's summer residence, etc. costing $2,195 . . ." At the end of the next year he wrote: "My ex-

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Where these qualities of strength, resourcefulness, and devotion to affairs were present, there was a decided tendency to an increase in the size of the plantation thus advantaged. This tendency was held somewhat in check by the force of conservative custom against the sale and purchase of slaves except in emergencies; but in the newly developing sections, and especially when times were flush and credit easily obtained, the rapid growth of slaveholdings in the hands of men of personal strength was a marked phenomenon.

Incapable owners, on the other hand, often lost part or all of their slave property. Perhaps this was less frequent with large holdings than with small ones, for the large estates could afford to employ capable overseers during the minority of heirs, and in similar contingencies, while the small ones could not. While some slaveholdings, then, were handed down from generation to generation unchanged in number except through births and deaths, by far the most of them were occasionally altered in size by purchase and sale; and the law of the survival of the stronger in the competition brought it about that there should be a growth in the size of those slaveholdings which were controlled by the most capable managers, and an increase in their number and size in the districts where negro labor could be used to the best advantage. Economy of effort and expense in administration, economy in the purchase of supplies, and perhaps also economy in the marketing of the product all worked toward strengthening the advantage of the large holder over the

pectations with regard to the overseer improving upon his last year's sad experience were vain. Mr. Venters did do a little better than before, as far as an increase in the crop was concerned, but very little; moreover elated by a strong and very false religious feeling he began to injure the plantation a vast deal, placing himself on a par with the negroes, by even joining in with them at their prayer meetings, breaking down long established discipline, which in every case is so *difficult* to preserve, favouring and siding in any difficulty with the people, against the Drivers, besides causing numerous grievances which I now have every reason to suppose my Neighbours knew; and perhaps I was laughed at and ridiculed for keeping in my employ such a man. I discharged Mr. Venters, and on 8th January, 1858, engaged Mr. Wm. H. Bryan . . . He is very highly recommended by Dr. King, and spoken of as a good planter and a man of character. I give him $800 for the year 1858 . . ." At the end of the next crop-year the record runs: "The crop of 1858, W. H. Bryan Overseer, has turned out wretchedly. From what I can learn since my return from Europe and after spending the entire winter of '58–'59 on the plantation, there has been gross neglect and great want of attention on the part of the Overseer . . . On 8th April, 1859, Mr. Wm. Capers Jr., an Overseer of high rank and standing, . . . takes charge at the rate of One thousand dollars per annum, the highest salary we have yet paid . . ." Capers proved efficient, brought things to rights, and made a very good crop. But Mr. Manigault expresses in his observations for 1859 the well-founded belief: "The truth is, on a plantation, to attend to things properly it requires *both Master and Overseer*."

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small one, and of the strong man over the weak. The concentration of slaveholdings was an inevitable tendency.

Yet there were hindrances and limitations to this process. In the first place, the whole body of the negro population was tremendously inert, and of course made no migration or progress of any sort of its own accord. Its labor as a rule was good only in a routine, and any change was difficult and problematical. Many of the whites also fell into a routine and were disposed to let good enough alone and put off changes till the morrow. After the American Revolution there were no entails or primogeniture, and estates once accumulated were liable to be divided in inheritance. Plantations, furthermore, might easily become too large and the fields too scattered for effective administration. The standard of maximum efficiency varied in the different staple regions and even on different soils within the same belt; but in every case such a maximum existed, and any growth beyond it decreased the profits of the establishment. Undue cumbrousness might be avoided by dividing one plantation into two or three; but that was not fully satisfactory, for overseers were expensive and they could never adequately fill the place of the master. There was a current adage, "The master's footprints are fertilizer to his soil."[1] In colonial times the limitations on the size of plantation estates were less cogent; but when slave prices mounted and when, in the later period, the margin of profit became small, it became more advisable to invest profits in bank-stock and the like and avoid too great cumbrousness of land and slave property. The actual size of the average slaveholding, indeed, was very much smaller than the layman has been led to believe.

There was, in the second place, a limitation of habitat. No cereals nor any other crops but the four or five Southern staples could be cultivated as a main product with the system of full routine

[1] The force of this is illustrated by the following description by a cotton-planter of his troubles and resolutions: "I have discharged Harvey, the overseer at the Hurricane, for getting drunk, neglecting business and not paying attention to that important branch of planting, viz. raising hogs. I have employed a man named Bagly in his place, a man of some reputation as an overseer . . . I was in Baldwin [County] yesterday, trying to infuse new energy into everybody, and I think my turning off the late overseer has aided me in my exertion, as both overseers seem to understand that retaining their places depends on their energy and industry, and when they flag they must find a home elsewhere. I am kept busy and intend they shall be too, as long as my health lasts . . . I have opened a regular set of books like a merchant. I found my business getting so confused I was forced to do it, and I am very glad I was, as I now keep all my accounts as easily and clearly as I could wish." Extracts from a letter from Colonel John B. Lamar, Macon, Georgia, January 5, 1846, to Hon. Howell Cobb. Manuscript in possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Georgia.

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which plantation industry required. That system was always confined, accordingly, within the staple areas and within the districts where economical transportation could be had, and where public policy was friendly.

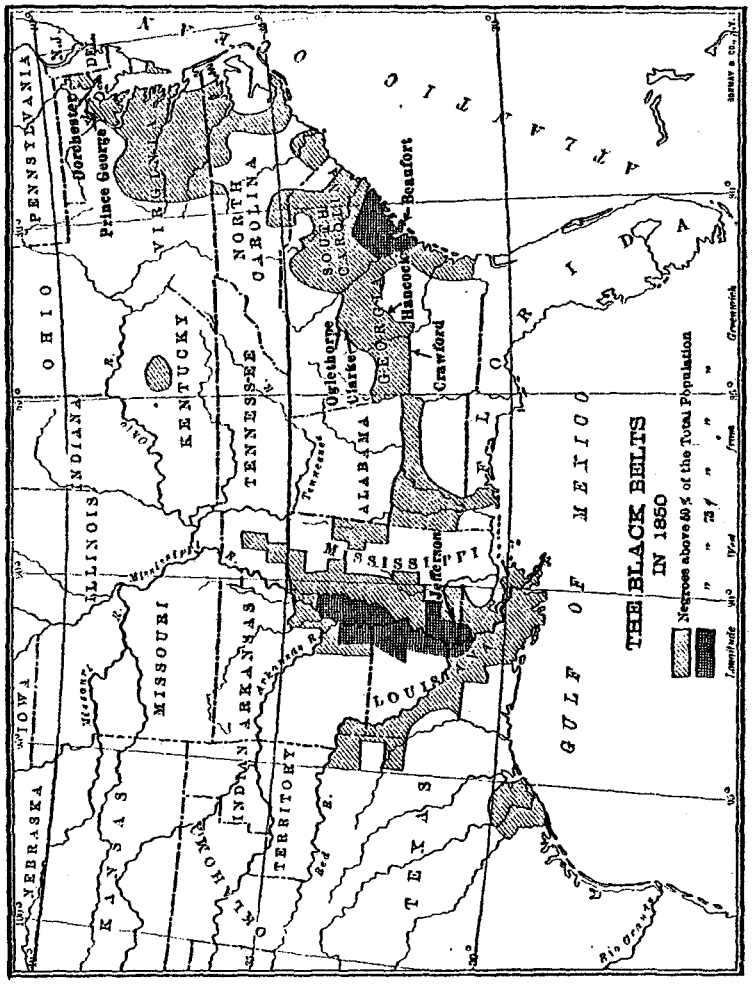
The friendliness or unfriendliness of a given region toward the plantation system might undergo decisive change. For example, the invention of the cotton-gin and the improvement of transportation made the Piedmont available for planters; while, on the other hand, the exhaustion of soils in parts of Maryland and Virginia and the rise of tobacco production at a smaller cost in the West, drove out the plantation system from some of the tide-water counties there.

The actual development as regards slavery in any given locality, whether in the South or the North, was the resultant of the interplay of these forces working for and against the plantation system. There were large parts of the South which, like the whole North, failed at any time to attract planters. The area, on the other hand, which invited them in large numbers may be divided into several distinct staple-producing sections, and may best be studied statistically through inquiry into the growth of the industrial units in selected counties which possess the type-features of the section.

For the colonial period, hardly any reliable statistics in this connection are available for study; but in view of the fairly complete repetition of processes in the successive settlement of similar areas in the plantation districts, it will here suffice to use the data for the period from 1790 to 1860, which is covered by the United States censuses and by certain local tax returns which we may use to supplement the census enumerations. The United States Census Bureau has never printed any local statistics of slaveholdings except for the year 1860, and many of the manuscript census returns for the early decades have been irretrievably lost; for example, those for Virginia and Kentucky to 1810, for Tennessee and Georgia to 1820, and for Alabama to 1830. But counties in Maryland may be taken as typical of the black belt of the whole Virginia-Maryland region, and a South Carolina coast district as an example for the Georgia lowlands also. There is no trouble in securing tables for the Mississippi-Louisiana region; and as for the Georgia-Carolina upland cotton belt, the summaries here presented from the manuscript tax returns in selected counties are preferable to those of the decennial censuses, because they were made much more frequently, and a series of returns for closely adjacent years is available for the study of the effects of particular economic crises, and the like.

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These upland Georgia counties which we have selected, Oglethorpe, Hancock, and Clarke, all lying in the older part of the cotton belt, are probably the most instructive of all for which we have data; for in the period covered by these statistics these counties went through the full development from practically frontier and



colonial organization, through and past their agricultural prime, and in turn came to furnish numerous emigrants to colonize the lands farther west.

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GROWTH OF SLAVEHOLDINGS IN SELECTED COUNTIES OF THE GEORGIA COTTON BELT.
(Statistics compiled from county tax digests.)

Year	Numbers of Slaveholders and Slaves.						Largest Holding.	Total Owners.	Total Slaves.	Average Holding.
	I 1–3	II 4–9	III 10–19	IV 20–49	V 50–99	VI over 99				
OGLETHORPE COUNTY.										
1794	215	114	60	10	0	0	26	389	1,980	5.1
1800	272	163	69	17	0	0	31	521	2,788	5.32
1805	295	234	79	22	1	0	76	631	3,598	5.7
1810	310	262	139	37	3	0	73	757	5,255	7.07
1815	286	230	138	50	5	0	77	709	5,457	7.73
1820	280	258	130	82	8	0	77	758	6,444	8.5
1835	219	203	142	89	12	0	80	655	6,689	10.2
1850	183	153	131	103	17	0	90	587	7,111	12.1
1860	165	151	112	96	16	1	130	541	6,589	12.2
HANCOCK COUNTY.										
1802	368	288	135	26	2	0	53	819	4,823	5.9
1807	378	323	185	45	3	0	65	934	6,424	6.9
1813	227	222	136	64	4	0	77	653	5,612	8.6
1821	229	208	145	88	8	0	93	678	6,331	9.34
1825	197	147	107	86	13	2	152	552	6,315	11.44
1835	145	132	107	77	17	2	180	480	5,680	11.84
1844	123	133	113	53	21	2	205	445	5,787	13.0
1856	144	112	106	95	27	3	146	487.	7,516	17.45
CLARKE COUNTY.										
1805	205	117	31	9	0	0	45	362	1,758	4.86
1810	191	123	57	10	1	0	51	382	2,124	5.55
1815	137	129	61	17	1	0	51	345	2,167	6.4
1818	164	152	83	24	0	0	46	413	2,997	7.02
1820	181	141	97	29	0	0	44	448	3,139	7.0
1830	206	154	91	55	3	1	120	510	4,529	8.9
1837	159	158	88	53	8	6	208	472	5,303	11.3
1840	130	161	73	59	5	4	209	432	4,358	10.16
1845	177	146	101	56	9	2	247	491	5,231	10.6
1850	177	163	103	73	4	1	102	521	5,217	10.13
1855	152	161	116	60	7	2	135	498	5,166	10.36
1864	167	175	111	73	8	1	150	535	5,420	10.13

By study of these tables[1] and charts, which date from the time when cotton production began in the upland district, the effect of the growth of the cotton industry may be watched and measured. The tables deal with both the number and the size of the slaveholdings. Studying them with the chronology of prosperity and depressions in the cotton belt in mind,[2] we find the following facts:

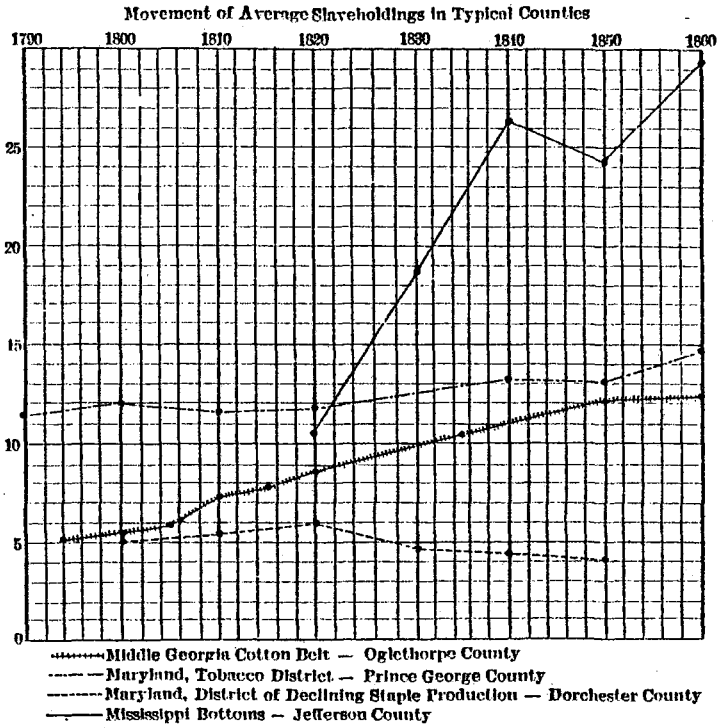
1. The *average size* of slaveholdings tended to increase with moderation in ordinary periods, while in periods of either marked prosperity or severe depression there was nearly always a stimulated growth of the larger slaveholdings and a thinning out of the

[1] The manuscript returns from which these summaries were made are to be found in the court-houses at the respective county-seats.

[2] *Cf. Political Science Quarterly*, XX. 267.

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small ones, and hence a quickened growth in the size of the average slaveholding.

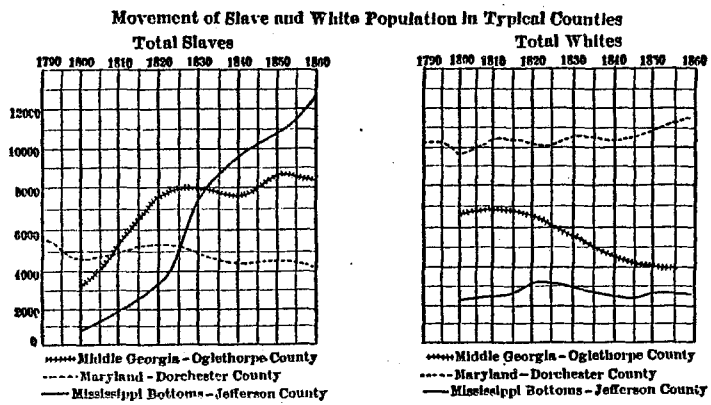


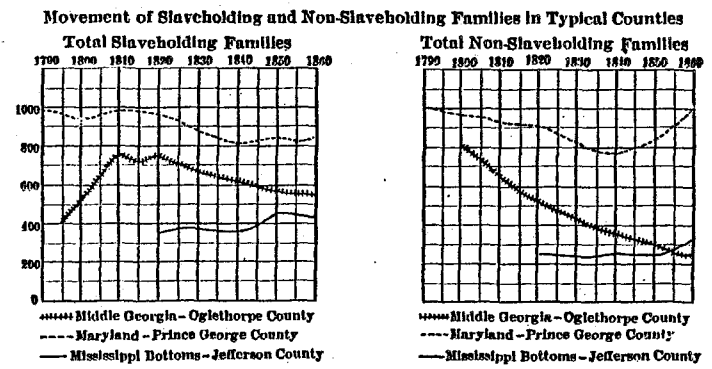
2. The *aggregate number* of slaveholdings tended to increase or decrease according to the stage of development which the community had reached. That is, so long as population was scanty and opportunity abundant, the small producers as well as the large ones flowed in. But when the land had become more completely occupied and opportunity restricted, an outflow would begin, and the smallest units would lead the exodus. Both flush times and hard times quickened this fluctuation of the total of units, merely hastening movements which were already in progress. These tendencies are illustrated more fully in Oglethorpe and Hancock Counties than in Clarke, for in Clarke County there lay the considerable town of Athens. A town, of course, contributed to the total of slaves a large number of domestic servants, who were not affected by the laws controlling the units in agriculture.

For the sake of clearness in the accompanying charts, Oglethorpe is used as a single type county for the upland cotton belt.

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In the respective charts, the line for Oglethorpe County shows: (1) a moderate and steady growth in the average size of slaveholdings; (2) a fluctuating but almost continuous rise in the total number of slaves; and (3) a decline in the total of whites after about 1810; (4) that the number of slaveholdings increased until 1810, held its own to 1820, when the aggregate population reached its highest point, and decreased thereafter through the lessening of the number





of small slaveholders; (5) that the non-slaveholders, throughout the period covered, decreased continuously, though with diminishing speed in the later decades. The number of non-slaveholders for the several periods has been roughly ascertained by comparing the number of slaveholding families in a given year with the total number of families, as stated in the federal censuses.

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MOVEMENT OF SLAVEHOLDINGS IN OTHER TYPICAL AREAS. (Statistics compiled from the United States Census Returns.)

Year.	Numbers of Slaveholders and Slaves.						Largest Holding.	Total Owners.	Total Slaves.	Average Holding.
	I 1–3	II 4–9	III 10–19	IV 20–49	V 50–99	VI Over 99				
JEFFERSON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.										
1820	125	97	75	40	6	2	158	345	3,665	10.6
1830	66	107	78	88	18	6	251	363	6,700	18.4
1840	72	74	58	95	39	11	456	349	9,176	26.3
1850	99	86	68	108	63	7	374	431	10,493	24.3
1860	81	87	70	99	71	17	above 300	425	12,396	29.2
BEAUFORT DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA.										
1790	143	110	88	153	67	24	607 (next, 265)	585	14,236	24.3
1800	107	127	115	152	70	26	300	600	16,031	26 7
1850	148	189	174	184	131	83	610 (next, 480)	909	32,279	35.5
1860	202	253	188	216	142	69	above 500	1,070	32,530	30.4
PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY, MARYLAND.										
1790	358	272	202	124	24	6	265	986	11,176	11.2
1800	294	294	180	117	31	5	155	921	11,067	12.0
1810	330	284	206	135	32	3	125	990	11,760	11.6
1820	315	290	199	132	34	3	117	973	11,484	11.7
1840	257	229	148	154	23	3	202	814	10,636	13.1
1850	256	241	164	166	28	5	198	860	11,510	13.0
1860	269	199	170	162	40	7	under 200	847	12,479	14.7
DORCHESTER COUNTY, MARYLAND.										
1800	465	304	85	28	1	1	121	884	4,596	5.0
1810	478	353	92	29	2	1	151	955	5,063	5.3
1820	560	382	100	21	1	1	200	1,065	5,198	4.9
1830	585	379	96	19	0	1	116	1,080	5,005	4.7
1840	531	355	81	8	1	0	65	976	4,222	4.3
1850	613	351	78	8	1	0	56	1,051	4,281	4.0

The data for Beaufort district, South Carolina, and Jefferson County, Mississippi, illustrate the movements for those parts of the black belts in which the proportion of negroes was particularly great, and show that while there was a larger unit of maximum efficiency in the alluvial areas, the same general influences held good which prevailed in Middle Georgia. Beaufort is cited as an old plantation area, and Jefferson as a new and rapidly developing one. The statistical picture in these cases is slightly disturbed by the fact that stretches of pine-barrens alternated with the fertile bottom-lands, and offered a haven to a number of poor whites who were too low in the scale of industry to be affected by the competition of the

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staple producers. The movement in the fertile areas was well described by Messrs. Simons and Alston in their speeches in the South Carolina legislature at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the subject of the slave-trade. Their description, as reported, was as follows:

> As one man grows wealthy and thereby increases his stock of negroes, he wants more land to employ them on: and being fully able, he bids a high price for his less opulent neighbor's plantation, who by selling advantageously here, can raise money enough to go into the back country, where he can be more on a level with the most forehanded, can get lands cheaper, and speculate or grow rich by industry as he pleases.[1]

The two Maryland counties analyzed are typical of the longest settled areas, in their two partly contrasting portions: the portion which maintained the plantation system, and the portion which had replaced its staple by varied industry and had abandoned plantation methods. The first of these is illustrated by Prince George, which was in 1860 the chief tobacco county in Maryland; the second by Dorchester, which by 1860 had altogether ceased producing the staple. In each of them the population, both whites and slaves, tended to remain fairly stationary. In Prince George the number of the small holdings diminished and that of the larger ones increased as time went on, while in Dorchester just the opposite movement was usually in progress. Where plantation methods were no longer followed, there was little incentive to the concentration of slaves. In such cases the negroes were wanted rather as "help" than as gang labor.

The districts which did not ever produce any of the staples in appreciable quantity lie beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to say that in them there was little or no importation of negroes except possibly in rare periods of particular local prosperity; and when, after such importation, slave prices reached high levels in the country at large it was often found more advisable to sell the slaves than to employ them in the non-staple industries.

To summarize: the plantation system was the master feature in the régime of American slaveholding. In the prevalence of industrial competition, that system controlled in large measure the migration and the activity of both races. It tended to segregate the races; and, except for domestic service, it tended under limitations, in the long run, to eliminate the small slaveowner and to constitute the industrial system entirely of the two types, the paternalistic plantation and the democratic small farm, the one devoted always primarily

[1] "Diary of Edward Hooker", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1896, p. 878.

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to the staples, the other as a rule depending little upon staple production.

The dynamic view is full of significance; industry and society while apparently static were really in continuous motion and change. Affairs proceeded much in a routine; but no repetition of process was ever quite identical with its preceding occurrence. The routine itself was essentially dynamic. Impelled by the force of competition and directed by the requirements of capitalized industry, the plantation régime promoted the growth of slaveholding accretions and extended the black belts wherever gang labor could be made the most effective system.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

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GAPS IN THE PUBLISHED RECORDS OF UNITED STATES HISTORY[1]

In the spring of 1902 the Queen of the Netherlands issued a mandate to some ten of the foremost historical scholars of her kingdom, constituting them a Commission of Advice for National Historical Publications. Meeting from time to time, and proceeding with proper Dutch deliberation, the commission elaborated a valuable and suggestive report, which was presented nearly two years later.[2] In this they take up in a methodical manner the general aspects and the various subdivisions of the national history, and discuss carefully under each head the state of the original materials requisite for thorough knowledge and the question what portions of that material have been made accessible in print and what portions still remain that ought to be published. The whole proceeding was eminently Dutch, characteristic of a cautious and prudent nation, that can afford the time to do things on a right plan. Great as is the mass of published material for the history of the Netherlands, the government itself had in the last seventy years done much less of this work than several of the other European governments. There was a general feeling that more should be done. But those who had the matter most at heart had no mind that the government should proceed haphazard, printing this or that body of documentary material because it had been often talked of, or because some enthusiast, having for the first time made its acquaintance, had conceived an exaggerated notion of its importance and had persuaded some facile official to let him print it at government expense after some mode of editing dictated by his own fancy. On the contrary, the most expert intelligence available by the nation was first to consider with deliberate care the question what most needed to be done, and was then to devise a general and relatively permanent plan for doing it. The immediate result was a highly interesting survey, exhibiting clearly the relative documentation of the different parts or phases of Dutch history. The future result will be a well-ordered system of volumes and series, by which gaps will be filled and existing collections supplemented, so that in the

[1] A paper read before the Columbian Historical Society of Washington, D. C.

[2] *Commissie van Advies voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Overzicht van de door Brunnenpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1904, pp. ix, 108).

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end the original sources for the national history may be evenly presented.

In reading such a survey, it was impossible not to be struck with the thought, how largely the method followed was applicable to the United States. For our briefer history, though the national government has done relatively little, much documentary material has already been published. But much yet remains to be done, and we are proceeding to do it without system or order. Executive departments of the federal government, or clerks of Congressional committees, conceive and execute documentary compilations; but all is casual and miscellaneous. More than half the state governments are publishing or have published historical materials; and no two have followed the same plan. Historical societies are prone to publish what seems at the moment most interesting or most available, provided of course it is of date anterior to 1783, at which date for most of them American history comes to an end; certainly they seldom pay any regard to what other historical societies are doing. Many zealous individuals have added and are adding to the mass of valuable documentary print; but still in a casual manner. The result is chaos. Some parts of our history are relatively oversupplied with original material, while others are in this regard neglected, and therefore remain unwritten, or are left a prey to those writers who do not need documentary material in order to compose historical volumes. Figuratively speaking, we have bought enormous quantities of supplies for our excavations, we have engaged our workers, we have dug deeply here and there; but we have "made the dirt fly" before we have mapped our isthmus. Or, to vary the metaphor but still keep near to the earth, one great region of our national domain, the historical region, is still, so far as primary labors are concerned, largely an unsurveyed tract, subject to squatter settlement and squatter sovereignty. Would it not be more rational to take a lesson from the methodical procedure of the Dutch?

It would be both futile and presumptuous for an individual student to attempt, in any length of time, to make for his country so well-rounded a survey as that which has resulted from the joint labors of the Dutch commission. Yet it has seemed possible that, without attempting a detailed survey of the field, one might by a hasty sketch contribute to the evening's entertainment of a historical society, and perhaps suggest some thoughts that others might at a later time elaborate and even execute. It should be fully understood that in this sketch there is no thought of general histories or of monographs, of the question whether on this or that subject a historical

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work has or has not been written. The sole thought is of that prior and more fundamental question, what materials exist and are available for the treatment of the subject, assuming that some one should wish to write upon it, or that, if already dealt with, it has not been treated in the light of all the evidence procurable. Suppose that nothing had yet been written on American history; in what state are the materials for attacking it? In order to have any practical utility, such an inquiry, it should also be observed, presupposes that we confine ourselves to materials which, however difficult of access or of use, still do exist. An absolutely even documentation of American history is not to be hoped for. We will limit ourselves to the consideration of the problem, how to do the best possible with that which the ravages of time, of war, of paper-makers, and of housewives have spared to us.

Nor can there be any thought of dealing with all the periods and subdivisions of American history. Only an illustrative selection can be attempted. If that selection is made mainly in the field of constitutional and political history, let no one make it a matter of reproach. It may well be that the historical writers of the next generation will lay all their emphasis on social and economic history. In France and Germany the tendency is already strong in this direction, and among us one sees the pendulum beginning to swing that way. Each age has its own fashion in the writing of history. "Historical writing", said Mark Pattison, "is one of the most ephemeral forms of literary composition." But even after the tide has set in the direction of economic and social history strongly, even violently, as is the manner of American currents, even in that socialistic millennium toward which we are no doubt advancing, it is to be hoped that students, however fascinated with the narrative and the theory of social movement, however penetrated with the conviction that economic forces have controlled all human destinies, will yet remember that for the last four hundred years the actual form in which human life has mainly run its course has been that of the nation. Perhaps we are approaching a period in which the leading organization of mankind shall be the industrial, when the union of unions or the war of trusts shall be more important than the union of states or the conflict of nations. But the whole course of American history thus far has lain in the era of nations, during which the most potent and visible unity of human affairs was the political. It seems then needless to apologize if, in a discussion of the materials for American history, printed and unprinted, one speaks primarily of those which

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relate to the constitutional and political history of the United States and of the colonies out of which they grew.

Beginning with the colonial period, it is first of all to be observed, how far from adequate is our supply of published materials for the history of British control and administration. First in logical order stand the King and the Privy Council, and first perhaps among the desiderata is a properly edited series into which shall be drawn off from the manuscript records in London all those acts of the Privy Council, or orders of the King in Council, and accompanying papers, which relate in any way to the British colonies in America. The *Acts of the Privy Council* have been for some time in process of publication by the British government. But now that the series is approaching the accession of James I. and the period when it would be useful to students of American history, we are told that it will not be extended beyond the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. All the more reason why the American entries in the subsequent period should be drawn off and published, that we may have a complete and consecutive record of the doings of what was once the highest administrative and in most matters the highest judicial body of our government. Such a series is not limited, by the phrase used above, to the thirteen colonies of the mainland, and it should not be so limited. There is no more fruitful source of error, or at least of incomplete understanding, in respect to the British colonial administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, than the habit of confining attention to those thirteen colonies which finally established their independence. The only rational mode is to consider that administration as a whole, as a system embracing sometimes colonies to the northward and always a group of insular colonies to the southward, some of them usually more regarded, as elements in the system, than most of the colonies on the mainland. Accordingly our proposed series of Acts and Papers of the King in Council relating to America should not fail to include those entries in the registers of the Privy Council which refer to the West-Indian and other colonies of Great Britain as well as those which have to do with the affairs of the "Old Thirteen". Nor should the series stop with 1776, nor even with 1783, when the thirteen colonies were acknowledged to be outside of British colonial jurisdiction. On the contrary, it should be continued to 1815, for in those thirty years of warfare with France many Orders in Council besides those most famous orders of November, 1807, were of moment to American history. Also, it should of course embrace the relevant acts of the Council of State under the Commonwealth.

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Similarly, we should have a series of the royal proclamations relating to the colonies. Here, it may be said, we are on a somewhat different ground, because royal proclamations were printed. But they were printed in so small a number of copies that it would probably be utterly impossible for even the richest and most determined collector to possess himself of a complete set of those useful to American history. Such print stands for our present purposes on the same basis as manuscript. It may be said that from 1666, when the *London Gazette* began, we are in a better position, since proclamations were printed in its pages and do not have to be separately sought for; but apparently only one American library contains a perfect file of that periodical.

Next perhaps in logical order to the records of the Privy Council stand the journals of the Board of Trade. The records of this advisory board, indispensable toward an understanding of colonial policy, must some time be printed. For the present it is less necessary than some other tasks, because by the public-spirited action of certain friends of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that society has been provided with an excellent transcript of the whole journal, in several scores of volumes of manuscript, which can always be consulted in Philadelphia. Ultimately however printing must be contemplated, though it is always more difficult in America to find the means for publishing documentary material that relates to all the colonies than that which relates to only one.

Parliamentary legislation for the colonies, as distinguished from administrative regulation, is, it is true, already all in print, and sets of the British statutes at large are not rare. Yet it would be very convenient if we had, separated from the mass and brought together in one book, all the acts of Parliament relating to America. The same is true of the relevant portions of the *Journals* of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, sets of which are few in the United States, and of the reports of the debates on American subjects. It is perhaps commonly supposed that all of this last material is in the earlier volumes of Hansard's *Debates*. But without going into the complicated bibliography of the pre-Hansardian Parliamentary reports, it may be said that this is far from being the case.

Let us pass now from the general matters of British colonial policy to the establishment and government of particular colonies. It would probably be supposed by a foreigner who saw our activity in historical printing that there must surely be no lack of printed collections into which had been gathered all the fundamental documents of that government, the grants of soil and jurisdiction, the

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constitutions on which the right to govern rested. But this is by no means true. The charter governments are indeed better provided, for it is an easier task to present their fundamental documents; yet Poore is not complete, and Miss Farnham's elaborate compilation covers but a part of the area. After all, too, what we need is a complete collection of all letters-patent from the crown conveying either soil or jurisdiction, either in continental America or in the islands, both those which founded important colonies and those which proved abortive; for it is only when the whole series is studied in chronological order, not five letters-patent or thirteen but twoscore or more, that the nature and development of the colonial grant are fully seen. The grant of Avalon explains the grant of Maryland; the charters for Guiana and the Isle of Providence illustrate that of Massachusetts Bay.

So much for the charter colonies. But still greater is the need of the fundamental documents in the case of the unchartered colonies, or royal provinces. Indeed the very difficulty of finding and studying their constitutions, in comparison with the ease with which charters may in most cases be found and studied, has led to some of the strangest distortions in our colonial history. In reading the pages of many writers one would suppose that the charter government was nearly the universal type of colonial constitution, whereas, when one stops to think, only five of the thirteen colonies were living under charters in 1775. For the others, the royal provinces, the fundamental documents of the constitution were the royal commissions and instructions to the governors. Comparatively few of the commissions have been printed, still fewer of the instructions, and those that have been printed are widely scattered. Yet without thorough study and comparison of them it is impossible to understand that intricate combination of the written and the unwritten, of the British and the colonial, which formed the typical constitution of the chief class of American colonies, and to which we look for the genesis of the main features of the subsequent state constitutions.

But we must not forget that our origins, even our constitutional and political origins, are not all English. Of forty-five states, many have known French or Spanish domination, and the scribe of documents played at least as large a part under the French régime, and under the Spanish colonial system a much larger part, than under the English. The archives of old France and of New France, those of Madrid and Simancas, and most of all the Archives of the Indies at Seville, contain the materials for many documentary series which are needed for the understanding of the history of Illinois and Louis-

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iana, of Florida and Texas. The administrative systems of France and Spain differed widely from that of England, the colonies had much less autonomy, and there are complications due to the subordination of the colonies now lying within the borders of the United States to superior authorities like those of the viceroyalty of New Spain or the captain-generalcy of Cuba. Under these Latin régimes we cannot so readily draw the line between what is constitutional and what is merely administrative regulation. Yet it is not too much to hope that we may some time have a complete collection of edicts of the French crown touching Louisiana and the Illinois region, similar to Moreau de St. Méry's *Loix et Constitutions*, or for the Spanish rule a series of the orders and warrants of the crown for the colonies (*real órdenes* and *cédulas*), or of the proceedings, decrees, and despatches (*consultas, decretos,* and *despachos*) of the audiencias and of the Council of the Indies.

To propose such definite and homogeneous series from foreign archives is to propose an unusual course of procedure. The common plan has been for a state government or a historical society, on hearing that in a foreign archive there was a group of volumes containing interesting materials for the history of their locality, to send at once and have them copied, and proceed to print, regardless of the miscellaneous character of what they found or of the question whether all had been found. For such a haphazard and piecemeal policy there was some excuse in the past, but there will be none in the future. The great European archives are no longer disordered masses, from the surface of which one had better pluck up what he could while he saw it, lest it never emerge to the surface again. They can be exhaustively explored; and by the plans which the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution is following, all the important materials that they contain for the history of the United States or any part thereof will within a few years be discovered, listed, and described. It will then be possible to select and print what is needed in order to make up a relatively complete chronological series of homogeneous documents of any given type.

Doubtless the political history of the colonies lends itself less perfectly than the constitutional to the composition of such methodical series. Yet here also some order can be introduced, in the gathering of spoils from European archives. If we ask ourselves, in the English case, what political series may claim for itself the foremost place, it is likely that the choice would fall on the letters which colonial governors wrote to the authorities in London, a series of documents frequent and continuous throughout the whole period, composed under

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official responsibility and by men who, though sometimes prejudiced, were in an excellent position for observation of the events of colonial history. But large numbers of these letters have already been printed, more or less systematically, especially in the case of New Hampshire, New York, and North Carolina, and of some individual governors, such as Sharpe, Spotswood, and Dinwiddie. For this reason it might be a better plan to take in hand the almost untouched series in the British archives of letters and despatches from the military and naval commanders in America, or the papers of the commissioners of customs for the colonies, full of new information respecting the plantation trade, the importance of which is now better appreciated than ever before, as the commercial causes for the American Revolution are assuming greater and greater prominence in the minds of historical writers.

There is also an international class of historical documents, obviously of the first importance, a compact collection of which is an undoubted desideratum, and that is the treaties and conventions between European powers which have a bearing on American history. The mass of them is not great. Often it is but a small part of a treaty that has reference to American affairs. Old-world diplomatists might higgle with minute detail over the frontier villages of Flanders or Alsace, and throw away half a transatlantic continent in a phrase. But the specific gravity of this material, so to speak, is exceptionally great, as the history of many colonial wars will testify. It is hard, however, for the student to obtain it. Treaties were printed, it is true. But they have often not been printed anywhere with perfect accuracy, and they can now only be found imbedded in great and expensive collections, and sometimes not even there. Probably no human being in 1903 wrote five pages on the cession of Louisiana without mentioning the treaty of San Ildefonso. It is fundamental to a great boundary dispute; but probably not forty historical scholars in the United States have ever seen its full text. (It happens not to be in Martens's *Recueil*.) The lack of a scholarly edition of all these treaties and parts of treaties is however being supplied by the appropriate department of the Carnegie Institution.

It is time now to pass to the American shores, and to consider what deficiencies are to be noted in the supply of historical material for our individual colonies. The first to be mentioned is one that would seem scarcely credible, in a country where so much historical printing has been done. Any one would say that among the prime requisites for intelligent work upon the history of our development

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during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should have given a prominent place to the laws of our colonies and to the journals of their legislative assemblies. But first as to the laws. Five states, Virginia, South Carolina, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, have provided the historical student with good sets of their statutes at large for the colonial period or even to the early days of the nineteenth century, and so has Connecticut in a way. Maryland and New Hampshire have begun to fill the gap. But unhappy the man who tries to follow the course of legislation in the other colonies. The Public Record Commissioners of New Jersey a few years ago declared that there did not exist in that commonwealth a complete set of the laws of the colony, province, and state; and in the case of Delaware and Rhode Island it is no longer possible to make good the deficiency. Authenticated copies of the earlier laws of those two colonies do not exist either in the state capitals or in London. Even in some cases where the laws have all been printed in usable collections, the records of disallowances by the English crown are fatally incomplete.

But with the legislative journals of the lower houses of assembly the case is much worse. The student has access to those of New Hampshire and North Carolina in modern editions, fairly complete; to those of Maryland to the end of the seventeenth century, to those of New Jersey for seven years, to those of Virginia for three. For Connecticut and for forty years of the earlier period of Massachusetts history he has journals of the General Court, or records of the doings of the legislature as a whole, with which he can make shift to content himself. For Rhode Island he has what is little more than a body of extracts. Substantially, then, he has before him hardly more than a third of the record. The rest still exists only in manuscript or in print almost as rare as manuscript. For Delaware nothing exists. A few fortunate libraries contain the complete sets for New York and Pennsylvania, which printed their assembly journals in goodly volumes. Virginia has begun the issue of a stately series which will ultimately give us the whole record of the House of Burgesses, the most important of colonial assemblies. Maryland is proceeding with the matter. Georgia is perhaps about to take it up, after a fashion. But Massachusetts, New Jersey, and South Carolina should lose no time in instituting such series, without which large portions of their colonial history are bound to lack definite substance and reality; Rhode Island should make her series complete; and New York and Pennsylvania should reprint.

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One more desideratum of the colonial period must be mentioned, though its magnitude is such as to cause hesitation. Yet no one can doubt that the social history of the colonial period can never be conveniently studied or adequately known so long as the supply of colonial newspapers lies in its present unsatisfactory shape. There were nearly forty newspapers in the United Colonies in 1775. Of some but a few scattered copies remain, of others there are complete files. There are numerous subjects of our social history in the ante-Revolutionary period which so run through the various colonies that they cannot be treated adequately without full examination of all of this sort of material that has survived. Yet the writer believes that there is but one man who, in the pursuit of any subject, has ever had the requisite determination and patience to carry through an examination of newspapers which required journeys to Boston on the north and to Savannah on the south, so widely scattered are the files that he must inspect. Moreover, some of the best of these will certainly vanish if steps are not soon taken for their preservation by reprint. Thirty years ago there were two good files of the *Virginia Gazette*; now there are none. There is one superb set of the *South Carolina Gazette*; as it is not in a fire-proof building, its fate is plain. No doubt it is a great expense to reproduce a file of a colonial newspaper, either by print or by photography. But does it seem as if an age that had produced *Fads and Fancies* could possibly profess inability to float an expensive book?

But it is time to turn to the history of the American Revolution. Numberless subjects of colonial history, numerous opportunities for documentary publication, have been passed over in silence. It will perhaps have been observed that nothing has been said of all the process of discovery and exploration, that happy-hunting-ground of the history-writing mind. Let it be attributed to a conviction that here, if anywhere, the supply of original material is relatively adequate. The world has been raked fine for documents relating to that age of the Argonauts, and nothing would suffer if we allowed those heroes to rest in their present state of documentation, while we devoted ourselves to catching up with other classes of transactions and of material.

It may well be maintained that much the same is true of the American Revolution. To the mind of the average American legislator, for some obscure reason, the words "American history" denote almost always the history of American wars, and especially of the Revolutionary war. Therefore it has been comparatively easy to persuade the assemblies of our states to make appropriations for the

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printing of documents relating to that interesting conflict. Nevertheless what would seem to be the most fundamental documentary series, a complete edition of the general orders of Washington as commander-in-chief, remains unexecuted. For the naval warfare, which in certain years at any rate was perhaps as important and as decisive as that which took place on land, our supply of material is relatively scanty, though the naval papers of the Continental Congress and the vast unexplored masses of the British Admiralty papers would furnish abundant material for illustrating even a warfare consisting so largely of detached episodes. Probably the huge fragment of Force's *Archives* ought on some improved plan or other to be pieced out to its completion. Until little more than a year ago we should have had to confess that we had only a most incomplete edition of so primary a record as the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. But now, thanks to the superb equipment and patient labors of Mr. Worthington Ford, we are being supplied by the Library of Congress with what is substantially a perfect edition of that invaluable body of material. We shall never be able to supplement that journal with the debates, as we are accustomed to do in the case of modern congresses. Yet a series has been devised, and is being executed by another agency in this city, which will supplement in a manner almost as vivacious the formal record of proceedings. It was the habit of many if not most delegates to the Continental Congress to send home at frequent intervals to their state executives, or to other local authorities, long letters or reports upon the transactions of the Congress. These are being collected from their official repositories in a dozen different states and, when all brought together in a chronological series, will illuminate the transactions of each week by side-lights varying with the individual angle, yet forming in combination, it is hoped, a supplementary light of the greatest value. Another desideratum, in the case of several states, is a proper presentation of the journals of their constitutional and other conventions. Also, for this period and for those which have followed it, we sorely need a new edition, revised and brought down to our time, of Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*.

For the Constitutional Convention of 1787 we have long had the primary records in reasonably good shape, on the one hand the Journal and on the other hand Madison's incomparable record of the debates; and lately these have been reprinted in a form which rivals the preciseness and almost exceeds the difficulty of a facsimile text. But Madison's notes have been supplemented from time to time by those of lesser diarists—Yates, King, Pierce, Paterson, Hamilton,

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and now McHenry—and documents have come to light that mark stages in the progress of the convention's work or otherwise illustrate the making of the Constitution. There is needed a complete and scientific edition of the Records of the Philadelphia Convention, which shall bring together from their various volumes these fragmentary supplements to the main narratives and shall arrange all the data, old and new, side by side under the days or parts of days or phases of the discussion to which they relate. It is a pleasure to be able to say that this work is being done, and done too in a manner certain to satisfy the needs of scholars.

The federal government of the United States, from its installation in 1789, has never been seriously remiss in the printing of the annual records of its transactions, whether legislative or executive. At times the suspicion has not been lacking that it printed too much. At all events, the task of him who would suggest gaps in the historical record of the central government is lightened when we pass that celebrated year. Nevertheless it has been demonstrated by exceedingly careful examination that the volumes devoted to Foreign Relations in the folio series of the *American State Papers* do not embrace more than one-fourth of the material, for the period which they cover, in the diplomatic archives of the Department of State. Here then is a great work which the government should take up, both for the large amount of fresh material which it will afford to the student of our history, and also for the illumination and guidance which it may give to the conduct of our national relations with other states. Such a series, however, should not merely embrace the fifty years of history covered by the *American State Papers*, but should be brought down to the outbreak of the Civil War; for it is well known to all students of our diplomatic history that for the years from 1840 to 1860 even those documents which are in print are hard to procure in unbroken series and hard to manage when procured.

There are also a few great deficiencies in the earliest legislative records which need to be supplied. The *Annals of Congress*, like the *Histoire Parlementaire* of the French National Assembly, were apparently made up from but a few newspapers. A much better account of the earlier debates, anterior to the founding of the *National Intelligencer*, could probably be supplied by a compilation from a greater number of papers. What is certain is that, as is doubtless familiar, the earlier debates of the Senate are almost entirely unreported. For the first five years the Senate of the United States sat with closed doors. For the first two years, to be sure, we have the debates recorded in the diary of one of the senators. Perhaps

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we ought to be grateful for what he has given us. But probably most persons have felt quite as much exasperation as gratitude at the thought that our sole record of those interesting, momentous, and formative discussions should come to us from the sullen, mean, and envious mind of Senator William Maclay. "All things look yellow to the jaundiced eye." Discussion of materials that do not exist was from the beginning ruled out of this paper; but it may be pardonable to express a devout and earnest hope that somewhere there exists another journal of those Senatorial proceedings and that in the future it may be laid before the world. It can hardly fail to be a fairer as well as a more generous record.

In the documentary material for the history of the United States in the nineteenth century, that age of copious print, it would be vain to pretend that there are gaps of the greatest magnitude to be signalized. To enumerate a great number of small deficiencies would be tedious. It may suffice to speak by way of specimen of two or three episodes in our history on which more light might well be shed. For one, and an extremely interesting one, there is the history of the striking process by which South Carolina, from being in the last years of the eighteenth century a Federalist state, came by 1830 to be the leader of the extreme state-rights school and the protagonist of sectional interests. The process remains an obscure one. The theory that Calhoun, disappointed in his ambition for the presidency by reason of his quarrel with Jackson, persuaded his whole state into the new path, is now well seen to be untenable; for it is plain that South Carolina led Calhoun rather than Calhoun South Carolina. For the same reason, there is equally little disposition to adopt Mr. Henry Adams's view, in accordance with which Calhoun was beguiled by the fitful ignis fatuus that rose from the decaying brain of John Randolph as he inflicted his wayward harangues upon the Senate, while the impassive Carolinian sat in the Vice-president's chair and transmuted the hectic utterances into the cold logic of the nullification theory. Failing such theories as these, we are forced to ask for more light, for more ample publication of Carolinian resolves, speeches, editorials, and private correspondence in the years between 1790 and 1830.

For a second instance, though the national government has put forth abundantly the documents of its own civil and military history and of the military history of the Confederacy, the stores of documentary material of the civil government of the Confederacy to which it fell heir at the conclusion of the struggle still for the most part await publication. The Journals of the Confederate Congress

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are indeed being laid before us. But we need to know more of the history of Secretary Benjamin's diplomacy, of the struggle for recognition, of the operations of the treasury, and of its relations to the economic life of the seceded states.[1]

Lastly, it may be permissible to say a few words respecting possible further publications of the private correspondence of eminent public men. Perhaps we are hardly warranted in speaking of gaps here, at least in the sense in which we can use the phrase when speaking of a governmental office or a legislative body which maintains a continuous record of its proceedings, so that if any part of it is not present in the printed series we allege a gap in the literal sense of the term. Yet there are some statesmen whose position is so important or so peculiar that if we lack their correspondence or memoirs we feel that we lack the key to many of the chief transactions of their age. Of all the Americans of the earlier period, there are perhaps none whose correspondence we so distinctly need as the two Adamses. From the elder we have a ten-volume edition of his *Works*. But it contains after all very little of his correspondence, and those letters are so vivacious that they shine out in a formal age, and compel us to wish eagerly for more. Of the younger Adams, while we have the invaluable *Memoirs*, surely one of the most remarkable of political diaries, we have almost no letters, though he wrote well and often, during a long and varied public career. In both cases, too, we should find our profit quite as largely in the letters written to the two Presidents, and preserved in the same repository, as in the letters which they themselves wrote.

Aside from John Adams, the chief desideratum for the period of the Revolution might seem to be a new edition of the letters of Richard Henry Lee, for the man was of high abilities and undeniably interesting, while the existing edition of his *Life and Correspondence* is one of the most preposterous, disorderly, and unusable of books. In the next period, we really suffer much from the lack of any full body of material on the Southern Federalists. We have only Iredell, and he was a judicial character. For lack of a full disclosure, such as the papers of James A. Bayard might afford us, many have been obliged to persist in the misrepresentation that the Federalist party was an aggregation of New-Englanders, although it is probable that, if the whole story were before us, we should perceive that the Middle-state and Southern Federalists had furnished the party with most of that ballast of moderate wisdom which its heady North-

[1] Mr. J. D. Richardson's *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy* (Nashville, 1905) has now partly filled this gap.

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ern leaders so much needed, and with much of the momentum which enabled it to do its great work.

The list might readily be carried down to more modern times. It is needless to say with how much delight we shall all greet the publication of the papers of Andrew Jackson; but of this we are already certain. The papers of Van Buren and Polk are already assured of preservation. Their publication will surely illuminate many obscure places in our political history. In the period of the Civil War it is chiefly the papers of the principal Southern leaders, and above all of Davis and Stephens, that we most need in order to complete our materials; and on the Northern side those of the dissentient radicals like Wade and Thaddeus Stevens and Henry Winter Davis.

We are not infrequently invited to take a gloomy view of the future of the historian. We are told that the economist and the sociologist are steadily plucking away his most valuable feathers, and that our venerable muse is losing the fairest portions of her domain to far younger sciences, of which Herodotus and Thucydides never heard and to which, indeed, they might not have felt attracted. But at least it will be clear that in America the purveyor or editor of documentary materials for history has sufficient occupation for the immediate future, and much opportunity to persevere in the endeavor to secure for his science at least a broad and solid basis.

J. Franklin Jameson.

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DOCUMENTS

1. Letters of Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk, 1844

THE following letters, written by Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk immediately before and during the Democratic national convention of 1844, are a part of the collection of Polk Papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress. The letter from Jackson to Butler is among the Van Buren Papers, also in the Library of Congress.

Van Buren's letter stating his position in opposition to the annexation of Texas appeared April 20, 1844. It was in complete antagonism to the expressed opinion of Jackson upon the same subject according to his letter to A. V. Brown, possibly written in 1843 but not made public until the spring of 1844. Jackson, of whose sincere desire for Van Buren's nomination there can be no question, attempted to neutralize the impression caused by Van Buren's attitude by a letter to the *Nashville Union* dated May 13, 1844, in which he stated that Van Buren's opposition to the annexation of Texas proceeded from a knowledge of the question only as it had existed in 1841. The communication to the *Union* was followed the next day by a confidential letter to B. F. Butler, chairman of the New York delegation at the Baltimore convention and Van Buren's personal manager. This was given to Donelson, Jackson's nephew, to deliver at the convention. After Van Buren's name had been withdrawn by Butler, he referred to Jackson's letter as the "prayer of Old Hickory for a re-united Democracy".

Donelson was accompanied to Washington by Laughlin and Pillow, both of them intimate friends of Polk. At Washington they met the other delegates from Tennessee. The delegation consisted of Pillow, the chairman, Donelson, Laughlin, Alexander Anderson (senator in 1840–1841, and a stanch Calhoun man), John Blair (representative from Tennessee from 1823 to 1835), Taylor, Childress (Polk's brother-in-law), Powell, and five congressmen from Tennessee: Blackwell, Cullom, Andrew Johnson, Cave Johnson, and George W. Jones. Pillow's letters show that Polk's ambition was limited to the vice-presidency. In the convention of 1840 Polk had received the vote of one delegate for the second place on the ticket. He had reason to hope for better support at the Baltimore

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convention. The Tennessee state convention, which had expressed no preference for the presidency, indorsed Polk for the vice-presidency.[1] In Arkansas Van Buren and Polk had been selected as the choice of the state convention which met in December, 1843. The same preference was shown in the vote of the Mississippi convention held in January, 1844. Polk's name was therefore coupled with Van Buren's, but Van Buren's attitude on the question of Texas had wholly changed the complexion of affairs. Polk was taken up by the Van Buren faction after their candidate had been cut off from the nomination by the adoption of the two-thirds rule in order to defeat Cass, whose strength was increasing with each ballot.

JESSE S. REEVES.

1. ANDREW JACKSON TO B. F. BUTLER OF NEW YORK.

HERMITAGE,

Confidential. May 14th. 1844.

My dear sir,

This will be handed to you by my Nephew Major A. J. Donelson who goes on to the Baltimore Convention to whom I refer you for the political news of the west, and the great excitement, Mr. V. Burens letter has created, and I fear it will be dificult to allay, and reunite the democracy in his favour. Clays letter had prostrated him with the Whiggs in the South and West, and nine tenths of our population had declared in favour of Mr V. Buren and annexation of Texas—when this, illfated, letter made its appearence, and fell upon the democracy like a thunderbolt. Had it have been in accordence, with the editorial of the Globe, all would have been well. *All* the democrats believed that Mr. V. Buren, under the present curcumstances, would have been in favour of annexation, but from the present excitement, it will be dificult to reconcile those southern and western democrats, *all* in favour of *annexation*, to Mr. V. B. You might as well, it appears to me, attempt to turn the current of the Miss[iss]ippi, as to turn the democracy from the annexation of Texas, to the United States, by Joint Resolution, Act of Congress, or by Treaty. Had Mr. V. B. and Benton taken a view of the population of Texas, where from, and the places of the birth of the Texian prisoner[s] at Perote in Mexico, the[y] might have judged of the feelings of the South and West. If they had taken into view the exposed Situation of Neworleans, with Texas in the hands of Great Britain, added to the danger of British influence upon our Western Indians, on the event of war, and the *dreadful scenes apprehended from* a servile war, with the Indians combined, on our South and west,—the

[1] In a letter written after the Tennessee convention, Polk took pains to assure Van Buren that he and eleven of the thirteen delegates selected for the Baltimore convention were favorable to Van Buren's candidacy, notwithstanding the silence of the state convention. Polk to Van Buren, November 30, 1843, Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress.

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feelings of the west might have been well judged of on this Subject. Why hesitate to accept the annexation from Texas, ["an independent nation" stricken out] with whom all the important nations have treated as an independent nation, when we treated with Mexico for a retrocession of that part of Louisiana, now Texas surrendered by that foolish Treaty of 1819—without the consent of Spain—extending the same rules to Texas as we did to Mexico, why hesitate to receive the profered Boon from Texas, as we were ready to receive from Mexico by treaty, without waiting for the consent of Spain. But I refer you to Major Donelson, and my published letter in the Union in answer to many letters recd, on this allengrossing Subject. I must[1] remark in conclusion, that I have it in the most positive and authentic form, from the highest authority of Texas, that if her offer is now re-rejected [*sic*], Texas is lost to the United States forever, until regained at the point of the Bayonet. That her depressed situation, will, from necessity, compel her to seek relief by engagements with some foreighn power—*that will be England,* unless indeed, Congress will gu[a]rantee her independence by Legislative enactment.[2] I say to you Frankly, that this is the fate of Texas, and nothing can restore Mr V. Burren [*sic*] But such resolution by the democratic convention. I hope for the best. I have been greatly grieved at the result. There was no *Tyler interest* in the South and west—and Mr. V. B. letter and Col Bentons is the only thing that could give him populari-[ty][3] in the South or west. Such is now the united Sentiment of *all* in the South and west. Here it is not viewed as a party question, but the cry is that no candidate for the presidency or vice, will be supported, that are not in favor of speedy annexation of Texas—it is said *delay is dangerous.* I am so feeble I can scarcely wield the pen—and much grieved at the late occurrence, when Mr. V. B. would have been elected by almost acclamation by the South and West. And my friend Col Benton will not, I fear be sustained in his present position. Missouri, is for speedy annexation, regardless of the smiles or frown of foreign nations. The Safety of the Republic being the supreme law—and believing that the annexation of Texas is es[s]ential to the Safety of the Republic—and the key to that safety, being offerred in peace to us by an independent nation, it is believed it ought to be speedily received, the door locked fast against all future dangers, and ["thereby all danger to" inserted] our glorious Union preserved and the harmony and prosperity of the whole Union restored. *The Union must be preserved,* and this step taken I have no fears of its disruption by evil men.

May God bless you my dear friend, and preside over the deliberations of the convention and confidence by all the democracy again united on Mr. V. B. is the sincere prayer of your sincere friend

ANDREW JACKSON.

B. F. Butler Esqr.

[1] Written "musk remark".
[2] "or Treaty" erased.
[3] End of line with hyphen. Word not finished.

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P. S. Our friend Benton cannot sustain himself in the position taken, for he sustain[e]d the attempt to regain Texas by Treaty from Mexico, against the remonstrance, and without the assent of Spain. How I regret the present condition of things. Mr. V. B. had the united vote of the democracy in the South and West. Clays letter gave him two third[s] of the W[h]iggs—and this prospect dashed to pieces, by assuming ground, that we had disregarded as to Spain, when treating with Mexico for Texas, and which Col Benton had sustained. My *regrets are too many*, and I close A. J

[Address:] Benjamin. F. Butler Esqr
Delegate to the 27th. May Convention at Baltimore
By Major A. J. Donelson.

[Indorsement in pencil by Van Buren(?):] A J May 14 '44 By Donelson on his way to Convention.

II. Gideon J. Pillow to James K. Polk.

Washington City
May 22nd., 1844

Dear Govr.

Myself and Col. Laughlin reached this city yesterday evening. Since that time we have been busily engaged exami[ni]ng into the condition of things here and though I had expected to find much confusion and excitement among our friends, yet I confess myself much surprised at the extent of the *distractions* and the bitterness of feeling which exists between the Van Buren men and the disaffected portion of the party. This last party I am satisfied is daily gaining strength by the arrival of delegations from regions of the country which have been lost by V——'s[1] letter. I have spent a good portion of this day in confidential consultation with Gov. Bagby[2] and Wright.[3] Last night I was with Cave J——[4] The *two former*, who are the leaders of the V—— force (Benton being excepted) and who represent the feeling and determination of the V—— B—— Democracy, say they are unable to suggest any remedy for the existing state of things. They say the northern Democracy will never yield up their preference for V—— and that his name will in no event be withdrawn.

The Democracy or rather the Delegates of the south west and west are making an extraordinary effort for Cass and many of them are going so far with their opposition to V—— as to declare they won't go into Convention if he is to be the nominee and that they won't support him in any event. If they continue to occupy that ground, they will break up *the party* and will leave no hope of reconciliation. Among the very

[1] Van Buren's.
[2] Arthur P. Bagby, senator from Alabama 1841–1848.
[3] Silas Wright of New York.
[4] Cave Johnson of Tennessee.

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worst of these *aggitators* is [*sic*] your friends Geo. W. Jones and Genl Anderson. The last is doing us great mischief. He wants an office from Tyler and is violent in his abuse of V—— and is for Tyler or any body else. I have gone to work to try and get the northern and southern branches of the party to agree to meet in convention and to try who is the strongest man and to agree to submit to the Decision of the convention. I have to night had Powell, Blair, Jones, [and] Blackwell at my room, talking and consulting about the plan to be adopted. We have fixed upon Tomorrow night for general meeting of our Tennessee delegation to shape our course of action with an eye single to the restoration of the re-union of the party and of your nomination. I think we shall be able ultimately to get the divisions of the party together in the convention, but there [are] some serious difficulties in the way. The disaffected say they won't go into Convention unless Two thirds of the convention shall be necessary to make a nomination.

Understanding what would be the result of such a principle, the other party refuse to make any such agreement—insisting that a majority only shall make the nomination. In this attitude the parties now stand, abusing each other most bitterly. I do not dispair of union, yet, but I confess the prospect is most gloomy. Both parties seem to look to you as the probable V—— P——[1] There is however so much distraction and division and difficulty about the *first*—that but little is said of the *second* and I think it now best to use all our influence and power to *heal the* wounds of the party and re-unite it if possible and until that is done, say but little about the V—— P——

If we do *not* unite *all is lost*. If we do unite we will then I feel confident get your nomination—although *old Dick*[2] is here and pressing himself strongly upon the party and actually electioneering with all his might.

You see we have troubles enough. We are certainly in deep water. My great effort shall be to *conciliate* and to hold things in attitude to secure your nomination no matter which party may succeed Laughlin and myself act together in this view of the case and I think we will be able to get all the Tennessee Delegation to co-operate in a silent acquiescence in the action of the Convention except Anderson and possibly Jones. No effort shall be left *undone*. If the party should not be totally broken up I think we will get you [on] the ticket. We are pretty certainly to have a *sort of ticket for* Tyler, and we are much afraid the disaffected will *secede* from the convention and join the Tyler Convention.

You see Gov. we are at *sea* and upon a *boisterous* one at that. I hope to succeed and you may rely upon all my exertions being used for that purpose. I have a good deal I should like to explain connected with Tyler's game here *to use* up the Democracy and buy them off from

[1] Vice-president.
[2] Richard M. Johnson.

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V—— but I can't do it in this letter. I will write you again soon and make Laughlin do so to[o]. You shall be kept constantly advised of every movement of interest—and when you do not hear from us it will [be] because things have assumed no new aspect. Childress arrived this evening. Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

[Address:] Hon: James K. Polk, Columbia, Tennessee.

III. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON, May 24d.[1] 44

Dear Govr.

Since my last letter to you our troubles have *increased.* The anti-Van Buren party are becoming *stronger* and though Van can get, agreably to the best estimates, I can make, about 145 votes in convention,[2] yet I fear the Two thirds rule will be *adopted* by the aid of the vote of Pennsylvania and that of a part of the Tennessee delegation who cant be controuled upon this question. Cass can get, as his friends think, about 80 votes on the first ballot and Johnson will get the ballance. On the 2nd. ballot Cass' friends think he will take the vote of Pennsylvania from V—— which will give him about 106 votes. These estimates, if correct, you will see render the result exceedingly doubtful. The Johnson votes, will go for Cass, which will give him a majority, but whether he can get *two thirds* so as to nominate him, under that rule is very doubtful.

The breach between the V——'s and anti-V——'s has become impassible. The parties will never meet except upon some other man than Cass, unless Cass should have strength enough to carry him through under the 2/3 rule. The Tennessee Delegation had a meeting night before last. Jones and Andy Johnson *were there* and were ready to *sacrifice* you, to get clear of V—— They both profess to be your friends and have been kind enough to say that they are unwilling for your name to go on V——'s ticket. So says Collum [Cullom], and *some others* of your friends, also.

Upon the subject of the Vice Presidency, not much has been said until to day. To day the report has been busily circulated that your friends were looking to Benton's and Van's friends for support for you, and with some it was even said that a distinct understanding existed etc. Having been called upon as your immediate representative by several of the disaffected I disclaimed in the most positive terms, any such understanding. They then pressed me and hard for our position and said that if Polks friends voted for V—— they would not vote for P——. These were a part of the Mississippi and part of the North Carolina delegation. I took the position that as we intended to place your name before the Convention, we thought it our duty to be

[1] Written over "23d".

[2] Van Buren had 146 on the first ballot.

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modest and not to *be active* in arraying the parties, that I thought we ought not to interfere etc. but that we would cast our votes without reference to the V—— P—— etc. and when we had determined upon our course as we would before the convention met, it would be known etc. The object you will easily understand is to *force* me as your friend to commit myself against V—— and to compel all your friends to do so to[o]. What this move will result in I cannot tell. I do not think V—— will get the nomination. I think he will be cut off under the 2/3 rule—and I much fear the loss of strength to you, in Alabama—Miss—North Carolina and Virginia by the position we will be obliged to take with reference to the Presidency.

I am now satisfied that it is contemplated to run Stephenson[1] for the V—— P—— on Cass' ticket. This the disaffected deny, but the *thing is sure to work out that way. If it were not for the present* organization of parties here and the embarrassment which is brought upon you by the *Conspiricy*,[2] you have more strength with the Democracy than any man whose name has come before the country, and though by the[se] movements I regard everything as thrown into confusion and uncertainty I would not still be surprised if a compromise were finally made by both parties taking you up, for the P——[3] This I give as a *possability*.

Jones and Anderson are wholly *rabid* and we do not now consult with them at all. I saw your letter to C—— J——[4] and noted its suggestions. Medary and his Ohio people we think will certainly go for you for V—— though we can only judge from the intercourse we have. Gov. Mo[r]ton of Massachusetts is for you and he says his Delegation he thinks will all go for you. The Illinois and Indiana delegation[s] are friendly to you—some of the [*sic*] them particularly of the first mentioned State, are clear for you. It is said *Benton*, now prefers you. He keeps dark on the subject however. It is impossible for me to give you even a brief outline of one half I want to wright [*sic*]. You may consider every thing,—even the fate of the party—as at *sea*—every thing is *doubtful*. The foundations of party are all broken up here, and I do not believe they will ever be reconciled. You know I am not in this state of things *idle*. There are so many *aggitators* and reckless men who are looking to their own aggrandisement and care nothing for the party or the country, that it [is] impossible to controul the *moving mass*.

We will spare no effort to get things *quieted*. C—— J—— and all our friends are almost in *dispair* of *every thing*. We shall go to Baltimore tomorrow being Saturday.

Your Friend

GID. J. PILLOW

[1] Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, Speaker of the House 1827–1834, and minister to Great Britain 1836–1841.

[2] "The Anti-Van Buren Conspiracy".

[3] Presidency.

[4] Cave Johnson.

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IV. PILLOW TO POLK.

WASHINGTON CITY
Saturday 25th. May '44

Dear Sir,

A better feeling prevails to day and I think there is now a prospect of ultimate union. I regard it almost certain Van Buren cannot get the nomination and I think his friends at the north so consider it. Some of them say if the Democracy cannot get along with him at the south and will fix upon a man upon whom the South will *unite*, that they will support him, and the Disaffected say if the North will withdraw V—— that the North may name the man. These concessions indicate a better feeling and will I hope, result in harmonious action. The chief difficulty in getting together under this state of feeling grows out of the rival claims of Johnson, Cass, Woodbury and others. The South may not be able to agree on any man and in this way, we may still have difficulty and it may even be possible, that when the disaffected find themselves unable to agree upon any other man, they may some of them come back to V—— If V—— should be withdrawn or beaten in convention, the chances are strongly in favour of Cass, unless V——'s friends should take you up and unite with your friends of the south to defeat Cass.

You have more friends here than any man in the field and if your name had been brought before the Country for the *first place*, we would have had far more unanimity. I am satisfied you are the choice of 2/3 of the Convention for the Vice, and almost everyone of your friends say they would prefer you for the Presidency. Things may take that turn yet. We of the South cannot bring *that matter* up. If it should be done by the North it will all work *right*, but if we were to make such a move it would in all probability injure your prospects for the Vice. Almost all the Delegates composing the convention have been here. I have made it my *special business* to become acquainted with them and to find out as well as I could, their preference for the *Vice*, and I think it is next to impossible to defeat your nomination if the Convention ever come to any conclusion at all. You are the choice of both branches of the Democratic family beyond all doubt for the Vice, and I do not believe if Stephenson should be brought out, that he can defeat your nomination. He certainly cannot unless there should be a very extraordinary change in the feelings of the convention. Our delegation that portion of it which we can manage are *still and silent*—urging harmony and peace and abstaining from all active interference in arraying the parties against each other. Powell—Anderson—Jones and Blair and Taylor are all determined to go for Cass. Johnson, Laflin, myself, Donalson and Childress are still waiting for further developements and light, before we act or determine what we will do.[1] As far

[1] Cave Johnson to Polk, May 25, 1844, Polk Papers, Library of Congress: "It is probable that Donelson Pillow and myself will scarcely yield Van whilst he is kept up by his friends". Tennessee, however, voted solidly for Cass until the eighth ballot, when Polk's name was brought forward.

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as I know or believe or am informed, all V——'s friends are for you. We have carefully avoided saying or doing any thing to alienate their feelings. If we can retain their strength and your own in the south and west, you are safe.

The Ohio Delegates and the New England Delegates, I think are all or nearly so for you. So are New York, but they are very silent. C. Johnson is in low spirits about our prospects and seems to have lost his energy. I feel confident of your success, unless the convention should break up in a row. The Ultra-discontents, who care but little about Texas and only use the power of the measure as a lever to turn out Van and to kill off Benton as his successor, are understood now to play their game with the view of preventing any nomination—and have proposed to have another one in July. But they cannot affect their objects. I received yours of the 17th. Inst to day. We will give you two annexation men I think. The North has become allarmed at the excitement about Texas in the South and say we shall have Texas etc. We shall go to Baltimore this evening. I will write you regularly and daily if I can. Yours Truly

GID. J. PILLOW.

I do not think you have lost a particle of strength by the report of which I wrote you in my last. It will endear you to the friends of V—— and will recoil on the heads of those who started it as slander and falsehood. I have not heard it mentioned for nearly 2 days. G. J. P.

V. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 28th. 44.

My Dear Sir

We have been all day engaged balloting for Candidate for President. We commenced at 149 for Van and 82 for Cass.[1] After 6 Ballotings we now stand 99 for Van and 116 for Cass—32 for Johnson and 35 for Buckhannon.[2] We have for 2 hours past had the most extreordinary excitment in Convention The whole Convention had well-nigh got into a general pel-mell fight. The Ohio Delegation produced it all. At this moment the excitment is still wholly ungovernable by the Chair. If the balloting continues the chances will be for the nomination of Cass judging from the present vote. The V B—— men will not go for Cass and the Buckhannon men say they wont. I doubt very much if Cass can ever get 2/3 of the votes. I have within the last few minutes received a proposition from a leading Delegate of the Pennsylvania and of Massachusets to bring your name before the Convention for President. I said to them that your name was subject to the will of the Con-

[1] The first ballot was: Van Buren, 146; Cass, 83; R. M. Johnson, 24; Calhoun, 6; Buchanan, 4; Woodbury, 2.

[2] The sixth ballot was: Van Buren, 101; Cass, 116; Johnson, 24; Buchanan, 25; Calhoun, 1. In the seventh ballot Van Buren had 99, Cass 123, Johnson 21, Buchanan 22, and Calhoun 1.

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vention that I would not at present bring it before the Convention, that if it was the will of the Convention the name should be brought out by the North.

There is, I think a strong probability of your name ultimately coming up for President. I do not think it prudent to move in *that* matter now. I want the North to bring you forward as a *Compromise* of all interests.

Time will alone tell what will be done. You shall hear from us. We are about adjourning and it is night.

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW[1]

VI. PILLOW TO POLK.

[BALTIMORE,] May 29th. 1844

Dear Govr.

On this morning we brought your name before the Convention for the Presidency. On the first ballot you received 42 votes—on the 2nd. you received 266 votes, being every vote in the Convention. The Delegates of South Carolina, then made their appearance and pledged the State of South Carolina to support and sustain the nomination. Never

[1] *Cf.* George Bancroft to I. G. Harris, Newport, R. I., August 30, 1887, Bancroft Papers, Lenox Library Building, New York: " . . . Polk owed his nomination by the Democratic Convention to me. . . . I went into the nominating convention enjoying the perfect confidence of the delegation of Massachusetts, confidence that was so great that I might almost call it the power of direction. Van Buren lost the nomination by his declaration against the annexation of Texas, which was not made better by his promising to annex Texas if the Democrats were determined to impose that condition on their candidate. In this way, by Van Buren's own acts, it became impossible to name him; and Virginia came out with a vote for Cass which was followed by others and was rapidly making great headway, and would soon have carried the day in the convention. But I knew perfectly well that Cass could not have been elected. The hatred and jealousy which Van Buren bore him made it absolutely and undisputedly impossible for him to carry the State of New York, and without New York his success would have been desperate or rather impossible. Under those circumstances, I was the one who of my own mind and choice, first, on the adjournment of the nominating convention, for the day, resolved to secure the nomination of Polk. I went first and called our own delegation together, and they instantly and unanimously agreed with me in his favor. I then went and saw the New York delegation, and they also perceived how the case lay; but of course needed to proceed with more caution and more complete deference to Mr. Van Buren's wishes that those of any other state; but they looked at the case with exactly the same eyes as I did. Van Buren implacably detested the thought of Cass as a candidate. I proceeded to the delegation of Tennessee and they naturally accepted the name of Polk joyfully and distributed among themselves that part of the work which I thought they could best do. We went on in this manner; and I remember perfectly that we had gone to so many states with the nomination of Polk, and had met with such success that I knew his name would certainly be brought forward the next morning with the certainty of his gaining the nomination. . . ." Bancroft wrote Van Buren just after the convention that he had "many personal causes for regretting the result" (Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress).

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was there such *unanimity*—never was there such *enthusiasm* before seen or witnessed in *any body*. I held you up before the Convention, as the "*Olive Branch of peace*", and all parties ran to you as to *an ark of safety*.

I was up nearly all night last night in bringing about *this result*. I had many *difficulties* to *encounter*. But I FAULTERED NOT, and this day I had the proud satisfaction of witnessing the *glorious result*—glorious beyond the expectation of any of our delegation or friends.

Silas Wright will be your *Vice* with almost as much ananim[i]ty [*sic*] as you were. What *a ticket*. How *pure*, and *elevated* and Herculian in intellects. I cannot in this letter give you an account of anything but the result. It is *glorious*.

We will sweep every Whig strong hold in the land—we will raise the shout all over the land. Yours Truly

GID. J. PILLOW

Wright is nominated by a vote of 258 votes on first Ballot. Alls well and glorious and all is *enthusiasm* and Union and Harmony.

G. J. P.

VII. PILLOW TO POLK.

BALTIMORE May 30th. 1844

My Dear Sir,

I wrote you to day giving you the result of the proceedings of this day in the Democratic Convention. I wrote under the influence of great excitement on my part, and in the Convention. I did not then and cannot now give you a full account of the effort made and the means used to bring about a result so astounding to every body. It was all done last night after my letter was written though I had laid the foundation for it yesterday. As I said in my letter of to day I was at it nearly all night. I entered into no Combination—I used *no improper* or *dishonourable* means. It was the *result* and *force* and *power* of *circumstances* which I seized hold of and wielded, as I think with *no little skill* and judgement.

I had good help in some *true-men* in the North who understood the whole *game* and whose names you shall in due *season know*.

I got no help on the work which was done last night from our home people. I communicated the plan and prospect to some of them and they had *no faith* in the *thing* and so expressed themselves. I was fully convinced it would *work out right*—and I worked on until nearly day this morning and this morning—the *boys* did not know what "*hurt them*". The fatal blow was given, but it was not *seen* nor known what produced such a result—nor where the blow came from.

I never saw such enthusiasm—such *exultation*—such *shouting for joy*. One Spirit—one *Soul* animates the great party, leaders and all. No one doubts the success of the *Ticket*. Victory is already hovering over our banner, which has been spread to the breezes under the lead of *Polk and Wright*.

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Some of our own *faithful* delegation—to whom I have referred several times in my letters—who have done all they could in their secret—assassin-like manner to destroy your prospects and sacrifice you—are overwhelmed with astonishment at this strange result. I shall defer giving you particulars until I can see you in person.

Laughlin has been sick for 2 days and not been able until this afternoon to be in the house.

C—— Johnson says "I am a *great General* and that the first war we have I shall command the Malitia of Tennessee *By God*" I decline the honour of the compliment,—but as it comes from so stale and *sedate* an old gentleman and is so much *out* of character with him, I could not help telling you of it.

This morning just before we went into the Ballotting, my movements during the night had been discovered by a few and powerful efforts were made to defeat it by some of your—*now*—would be friends. Oh Governor how much good it did me to see the boys over-reached—outdone and *whipped* into the ranks. Every man in the Convention is *now* your *warm friend*. If you were here you would imagine yourself the most popular man in the world, and you would be sure you *never had an enemy* in the convention. You cannot know how much pains they take to give in to me *their adhesion* to you, and to impress me with the *great merit* of their *conduct*. I am almost ready to conclude that *your success* has made *me* a *great man*. Every body wants *my "address"*, and desires me to present *them* and their *services* in the proper point of view to *you*. I laid the foundation for last nights work during the day yesterday. I have written to you freely—fully and without the least reserve and desire that *all my letters* shall be considered *confidential*. I desire this as I do not want to create *enemies* about the matter resulting so *gloriously* as it has.

I shall leave here in the morning for Philadelphia and new York and will be at home about 15th. June

Yours

GID. J. PILLOW

2. *Apolinario Mabini on the Failure of the Filipino Revolution*[1]

JOSÉ RIZAL was the most notable of the Filipino propagandists for the extension, by Spain herself, of greater political rights to the islands, and the introduction of an era of greater intellectual freedom in general. Though he worked along peaceable lines entirely, aiming primarily at arousing his own people to their social unfitness, and when the final issue came for peace or war in 1896 put himself openly on the side of peace, yet the Spaniards courted their own destruction by destroying him, at the instance of the ecclesias-

[1] For this document, with its introduction and notes, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. James A. Le Roy, United States Consul, Durango, Mexico, recently appointed as Consul at Madrid. ED.

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tical reactionaries and because, truly enough, his propaganda had been the most effective in arousing the people. Begun from above, it had reached the masses below in a distorted form; this was the fault of Spanish governmental rigidity, but Rizal paid the penalty for the faults of the system. Apolinario Mabini was one of the younger of the sons of the people who had allied themselves fully in spirit with the reform propaganda. Though he protested his non-sympathy with the Katipunan movement of 1896, he too might have been made to suffer at that time, had it not been for his having borne a minor part in the propaganda that led the way to the rising of the Tagalog masses, and, furthermore, had not his paralysis at that early age led to the extension of executive clemency in his case, after some months of detention. His revolutionary spirit was full-fledged by 1898, and he came out early and openly against Spain, quite as he was later to act as the chief irreconcilable among the opponents to American rule. He was the great Filipino "character" produced by the revolution. He and Rizal stand out as the most conspicuous of what may be called the "Young Filipino Party" in the two distinct phases of the general movement which was, and still is, a Filipino *national* movement. Almost anything Rizal or Mabini could have written would be worthy of careful perusal, as affording an insight into the workings of these two minds, neither typically Filipino in all respects, each possessing an individual interest for us, and yet both reflecting also the aspirations and the undeveloped state of their people as they are in no other way made clear.

Born near together in Luzon (Rizal in 1861, Mabini in 1870), of pure Tagalog parentage, in the heart of the Tagalog country along the Laguna de Bay, and passing through a similar course of instruction in the Jesuit academy and friar university of Manila, their ways thenceforward diverged considerably. Rizal went to Europe, where, after a time spent under Latinic tutelage in Madrid (having taken up a course in medicine), his very instincts seemed to point him to Germany and the northern fountains of learning. Mabini remained in the islands (had never, it is said, left them until his deportation to Guam in 1901) and, on his own account, continued his legal education and his reading in history and philosophy, while a lawyer's clerk, as best he could. Ten years in advance of him, Rizal had been aided in breaking loose from the influence of a scholastic, metaphysical kind of education by coming into full touch with modern science as taught by the research method. With an equally powerful, alert mentality, Mabini was left to grope his own way out from the bonds and constraints of medievalism in thought.

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With no practical knowledge of the outside world, living in a land where friars of the most backward sort censored literary output and restricted so far as they could the entrance of books revealing modern views on politics, science, and religion, is it any wonder that Mabini's mind, strong enough of itself to shake off these fetterings, should have been unduly influenced by the first new "school of thought" with which it came into contact? This happened to be the school of French socialism of the eighteenth century.

After being released by the Spanish authority in 1897, Mabini went to his home on the borders of Batangas and Laguna provinces. He seems to have been at least in sympathetic contact with the efforts of various leaders who had not profited by the Biak-na-bató bargain to rearouse revolt against Spain on a larger scale than before in the early months of 1898, before American intervention. Among Mabini's manuscripts is said to be a manifesto to the people outlining the reforms for which a campaign, possibly involving an appeal to force, should be made, dated over a week before the American victory in Manila Bay. Soon after Aguinaldo set up his headquarters at Cavite, Mabini was borne thither on a litter across the intervening country from the lake region, the regions first won from the incompetently organized and led troops of Spain. From that time forward, Mabini was the real inspiration of all Aguinaldo's plans for a future government, writing his decrees, preparing a provisional constitution, conducting a propaganda of reform among the Tagalogs. On military plans and operations, properly speaking, he never exercised, it is probable, very much influence. But, though he remained throughout 1898 merely an unofficial adviser of Aguinaldo, not taking office as head of the cabinet until January, 1899, when the party of conservative Filipinos had severed their connection with the Malolos government, he was the real power, first at Bakoor, then at Malolos, in framing a scheme of independent government, and then in resisting every step toward peaceful conciliation with the United States, provided it threatened in the least degree the full carrying out of the plans into which he had now entered heart and soul. Aguinaldo was plainly not averse to accommodation, on several occasions; but Mabini was, from first to last, inflexible in opposition to the efforts of the party of older and more conservative Filipinos to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Americans. Whoever may be said to have carried on the war, he chiefly made war inevitable, his plans as a civic reformer coinciding perfectly in this respect with those of the "war party" of young Filipinos who held military commands and were eager to

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distinguish themselves in a campaign that they believed would bring easy victory over the Americans.

After the scattering from Malolos, the signal defeat of Luna at Kalumpit, and Lawton's easy occupation of San Isidro, the second whilom capital, in April, 1899, a peace party was formed in the revolutionary camp. Aguinaldo acquiescing, Mabini was deposed, and negotiations with the Americans were inaugurated during the following month. Luna, the Filipino military leader of most decision, began a series of arrests designed to coerce all opposition to him and his demand for a continuance of the war. Whether or no these movements pointed to a coming *coup d'état,* endangering the position of Aguinaldo if not his life as well, it is hard to say. Others besides Aguinaldo believed so. Mabini did not, or so he declared to the day of his death; and, whatever may be the truth, Mabini is by all exonerated of any sympathy, much less complicity, with any such plot. The end of it all, in June, 1899, was the assassination of Luna, Aguinaldo assuming openly a dictatorship again, and thenceforward moving on to his final rout and his expulsion from the scene of activities untroubled by a rival of any sort.

Mabini, until his discovery by the American troops who occupied Pangasinan province in November of that year, lived apart from the centre of the "government" at Tarlak; but his advice and influence were often sought, and were always for a continuance of the opposition, while yet he criticized the growing anarchy in the towns under revolutionary authority. He refused to take advantage of the amnesty offered in June, 1900, and the overtures of Generals MacArthur and Bell and of the Taft Commission during that summer and fall only resulted always in assertions of his irreconcilability. Finally, knowing that the project of deporting himself and others to Guam was in the minds of the American military authorities, he courted martyrdom by launching forth in one of the Filipino papers a defiant criticism of the war measures proclaimed by General MacArthur in December, 1900, likewise inciting opposition among the people who hung upon his words against those Filipinos who were co-operating to restore peace to the troubled provinces by means of the formation of the Federal Party. He remained at Guam for nearly two years, refusing for some months to take the oath of allegiance at Guam and accept the freedom and return to the Philippines that was offered to him after the general amnesty was proclaimed in July, 1902. He maintained that he should first be taken to the islands, to see if the conditions and disposition of the people justified his taking the oath. Finally, however, he yielded and swore allegiance on his arrival at Manila

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at the beginning of 1903. Mabini, who, like Aguinaldo, was but twenty-eight years of age when the revolutionary decrees of 1898 were promulgated at Cavite, died at Manila of cholera in April, 1903, his frail body (enfeebled by the paralysis of the lower limbs which he had brought upon himself in his early years) not possessing the vigor of his mind nor the tenacity of his will.

The most interesting document that Mabini ever wrote, not excepting the Provisional Constitution which formed the basis of the Constitution finally adopted at Malolos, is a manifesto and new "Ten Commandments", addressed to the masses from Bakoor in July, 1898. Like the Provisional Constitution, this curious document seems never to have been published in the United States. Mabini's commandments (called the "True Decalogue"), designed to replace the "antiquated commandments" taught to the people by their old ecclesiastical masters, inculcate the love for liberty and learning equally with that for the fellow-man; but they also preach to the Filipino masses that their love for their *Filipino* fellow-man should be something altogether superior to their love for humanity in general. Upon this framework of racial fraternity Mabini would build up his patriotic, idealistic structure of a future Filipino society, remodelled by preaching and decrees, quite like the French promulgators of the early days of the Great Revolution. Aside from the political interest of this strange document, one has to note the great egotism and the almost total lack of humor of the young man of twenty-eight who put it forth.[1]

At his death, Mabini left in manuscript a work on which he had spent some of his time in Guam and which had received his chief attention during the few months spent prior to his death in Manila. It is entitled "The Filipino Revolution", but still remains unpublished as a whole.[2] The tenth chapter of the manuscript was, however, printed in *El Comercio,* of Manila, on July 23, 1903. It deserves translation and presentation in the United States not alone

[1] I hope to reproduce the "True Decalogue", in a translation direct from its Tagalog version, and the main features of the Provisional Constitution, showing how the Malolos Constitution was builded upon it, in a work reviewing the data of the years 1898 to 1905 in the Philippines.

[2] It was known to friends of Mabini who never had shared his radical views to the full, and who now desire to avert so far as possible the manifestations of factional feeling and personal jealousies which have always in the past been so disastrous to every Filipino enterprise, that in one chapter of these memoirs as written there was a bitter attack on Aguinaldo. This part of the work, they hoped, could be kept from publication for a time at least, till passions should have died down and the men and measures of the past few years could be judged more soberly in general. But the inveterate agitator Dominador Gomez y Jesus, who had constituted himself, with the consent of Mabini's relatives, a sort of literary executor of the late revolutionist, gave this part of Mabini's memoirs to a Spanish newspaper of Manila, *El Comercio,* to print.

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as a Filipino's relation of the events of 1899 in the Philippines, but also in a particular way because it presents, as authoritatively as any but a very few Filipinos could do, the incidents centring about the assassination of Antonio Luna in June, 1899. The cause of Luna's assassination is so much a matter of common notoriety in the Philippines that Governor Taft probably never thought that he might be charged with making insinuations against the character of Aguinaldo when, in testifying before the Senate Committee on the Philippines at Washington in 1902, he implied that Aguinaldo had been responsible for the deed. The publication of this chapter of Mabini's memoirs raised a storm of comment and protest among Filipinos. In the main, they condemned Mabini's criticisms of Aguinaldo on the ground that Mabini himself had been largely responsible for the governmental acts of Aguinaldo, and therefore must share in whatever blame there was; this apart, of course, from the incident of Luna's assassination, as to which event no Filipino of any faction, in all the controversy aroused, presumed even to hint that Mabini's plain inferences as to the cause of Luna's death were unwarranted. As to Aguinaldo's part in it, the most common opinion expressed by Filipinos is that he was unduly influenced by certain enemies of Luna who surrounded him at that time. There is, of course, difference of opinion among Filipinos as to whether or no the removal of Luna was justifiable on moral grounds or advisable from the point of view of the best interests of the revolutionary cause. Roughly speaking, it all comes down to the blunt question, Was it a choice between the slaying of Luna or the death of Aguinaldo himself at Luna's hands? When the lips of some Filipinos who are now preserving strict secrecy are unsealed, we shall know more about this. Mabini's account and comments are as follows:

X. END AND DOWNFALL OF THE REVOLUTION.

As I had foreseen, our improvised militia could not resist the first onslaught of the disciplined troops of the Union. Moreover, it is to be confessed that the Filipino troops posted about Manila were not that night ready for an attack. General Ricarte, who commanded the detachments of the south, and General San Miguel, commander of the east zone of the city, were in Manila on the night referred to.[1] Little

[1] These facts are well established, though it is also true that the Filipinos had been getting ready for a fight around Manila for some time prior to February 4, 1899. General Otis, who had at first implied in his cablegrams to Washington that the outbreak of that night was a premeditated attack by the Filipinos, a few days later cabled that the outpost trouble which brought on warfare between Filipinos and Americans had come prematurely for the Filipino commanders, who were caught unprepared.

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accustomed to war, the Filipino officers scarcely comprehended the value of military instruction and discipline; for this reason, the duties of the detachments were kept up in a manner far from regular and strict. The Filipino General Staff had not worked out and established a plan for movements in advance or retreat in case of an outbreak of hostilities; and Señor[1] Aguinaldo, who very little appreciated the advantages of unity in command and in movements, had not made the necessary preparations for a speedy re-establishment of communications between the various fractions of the army, whenever a sudden retreat might give rise to the interruption of the telegraphic line of communication. Señor Aguinaldo desired to retain the immediate command of the forces which surrounded Manila, directing them from his residence in Malolos, although he could not devote himself entirely to the proper fulfilment of the obligations of this charge, on account of his duties as chief of the government and his caprice for despatching by himself many matters that ought to have been handled in the departments of the central administration. Only after the outbreak of hostilities, when telegraphic communication was already interrupted, did he appoint Luna chief of the forces operating around Manila; but then the various fractions of the army had already deserted their old positions, and communication between them was difficult and slow. Moreover, because the Secretary of War had disapproved one of his measures, Luna soon afterward resigned his post, but returned to the command of the defensive operations north of Manila when the Filipino government was obliged to withdraw from Malolos to San Isidro, province of Nueva Écija.[2] Luna succeeded in reforming our forces in Kalumpit, organizing various companies of soldiers who had served in the former native army under the Spanish government; and around them, as a foundation, he set up a rigid discipline, to combat the demoralization of our troops. But many officers of rank, jealous about their authority, failed to give him the necessary efficacious co-operation.

[1] Note how he is scrupulous always to give Aguinaldo the title of "Señor".

[2] The Secretary of War was Baldomero Aguinaldo, cousin of Emilio. Emilio, and to a certain extent Baldomero Aguinaldo had made reputations in the guerrilla operations of 1896–1897. Antonio Luna was one of a family of Ilokans who had been educated in Spain and in Paris, his brother Juan having made a reputation in Spain as a painter, while Antonio was a bacteriologist. Under a Liberal administration, he had obtained a post in the Manila city laboratory, but Blanco was compelled to imprison him by the many denunciations against him and Juan in the fall of 1896, charging them with complicity in the Katipunan revolt. They escaped execution only after most abject and humiliating retractions addressed to Blanco's successor and to the Spanish archbishop in Manila, and were sent to Spain, where they were released in 1898. Juan died in Hong-Kong, on his way back to the Philippines. Antonio arrived in the islands in September, 1898, and at once threw himself into the organization of future resistance to the United States. He had read Spanish treatises on military tactics, and merely on the strength of his pretensions in this direction was given a great reputation among the young Filipino war party. Aguinaldo and his cousin seem to have recognized a dangerous rival in him from the very outset.

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Hence there resulted, in rapid succession, the subjection to actual military force of some officers who did not recognize his authority, the court-martialing of those who abandoned their posts in front of the enemy, and the disarming of troops who disobeyed orders.[1]

However, Luna would have been able to impose and maintain discipline, despite all these difficulties, if Señor Aguinaldo had supported him with all the power and prestige of his authority. But the latter began to be afflicted with jealousy as he saw that the former was making his influence felt, little by little, by his valor, audacity, and military knowledge. All those who were displeased by the conduct of Luna were urging upon Aguinaldo that Luna was conspiring to seize from him the supreme authority. After the taking of the Kalumpit bridge by the American forces, principally on account of the scarcity of ammunition,[2] Luna came to see me at San Isidro, to beg me to help him convince Señor Aguinaldo that the time had come to adopt guerrilla methods. I promised to do as he wished, but pointed out to him that I had no confidence in the outcome, since my advice received very little attention in connection with military matters, because, not being a soldier but a man of letters, my understanding of military science was of little or no account. I could not keep my promise, because I was not able to see Señor Aguinaldo until some time afterward, when he came for the express purpose of consulting me as to whether or no a change of cabinet was desirable. Not being able to disregard the delicacy [of personal feeling?], even in the midst of these circumstances, I answered in the affirmative, and, after having turned over my office to the Most Excellent Señor Pedro A. Paterno at the beginning of May, 1899, I left

[1] This is a one-sided statement of Luna's efforts to establish discipline among the Filipino forces. He showed animus against officers who owed their position to Aguinaldo's favor, and assumed the full powers of a military dictator at times. Manuel Argüelles, who had been on the first commission to go to Manila and discuss an arrangement for peace with the Americans, ventured to question the advisability of keeping up the fight, in a private conversation with Luna after the rout at Kalumpit, while at the same time expressing his willingness to do his share in the war if the majority of leaders thought it best. For this, Luna imprisoned him without having authority to do so, had him tried for treason, arbitrarily interfering to secure the imposition of a death sentence, and, while he kept him imprisoned for some weeks, sent him weapons several times, with which he was advised to commit suicide. This was the most notable of Luna's acts of aggression in repelling by terrorism the attempts for peace. Argüelles was released by Aguinaldo after Luna's death, and was one of the men instrumental in forming the Federal Party in 1900.

[2] This was the place where two men of Colonel Funston's Kansas regiment performed their famous feats of swimming the Rio Grande, in the face of some hundreds of Filipinos in intrenchments high on the opposite bank, fastening a rope by which a handful of companions crossed and literally stampeded the Filipinos out of an intrenched position. Luna's personal chagrin was all the greater because he had advertised his position as "impregnable". Yet he had not even taken precautions against being flanked by a crossing of the river below him, so that his men mistook a band of Filipinos marching up to reinforce them for a party of Americans who had crossed the river.

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for the town of Rosales, near Bayambang.[1] Some weeks later, Señor Aguinaldo telegraphed to Luna, asking the latter to come to see him in Kabanatúan, to confer with him. But, when Luna arrived in the appointed place, he did not find Aguinaldo in his residence, and he was traitorously assassinated by the soldiers on guard there [at Aguinaldo's house]. Colonel Francisco Roman, who accompanied him, died with him. While Luna was meeting his death by assassination, Señor Aguinaldo was taking upon himself, in Tarlak, the command of the forces which the dead man had organized.[2] Before his death, Luna had had his offices in Bayambang and had been in Benget reconnoitering to see if the place possessed good natural conditions for defense in case of a retreat; besides that, he was already having sent there the heaviest parts of the machinery to be used for the purpose. Nevertheless, Señor Aguinaldo established himself with his government in Tarlak and devoted his time to political and literary work, an oversight which General Otis improved by disembarking troops in San Fabian, while the cavalry [the column, that is, under Lawton's superior command and Young's immediate leadership], winding around by San José and Umingan, took possession of San Quintín and Tayug, thus cutting off Señor Aguinaldo's line of retreat and delivering a mortal blow to the revolution.[3]

[1] Paterno and Buencamino were the leaders in the cabinet formed after a meeting of members of the Malolos Congress at San Isidro in the first week of May, 1899, which decided in favor of peace on the terms which the first Philippine Commission had stated at Manila, and declared also that Aguinaldo ought to dismiss Mabini as the chief obstacle to peace. After Luna began making arrests of those favorable to peace, this movement came to naught.

[2] Aguinaldo's wife and mother, also Felipe Buencamino, are said to have been in the residence at Kabanatúan, in the province of Nueva Ecija, when this tragedy occurred at its doors. Compare the testimony of Felipe Buencamino at Washington in 1902 (*Committee Reports, Hearings, etc., Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 1901–1903* (Washington, 1903), pp. 233, 234, 254, 314): "It was found that General Luna wanted to effect a coup d'état to supplant Aguinaldo. . . . Then General Aguinaldo decided on the suppression of General Luna, and he collected 4,000 men and went to look for General Luna. . . . General Luna was living in Bayambang, about 75 miles from Cabanatuan, so that it took Aguinaldo four days to arrive at the town of Bayambang. But what I can not explain is the coincidence that upon the same day that Aguinaldo was arriving at the residence of General Luna, General Luna on the same day and at the same hour was also arriving at General Aguinaldo's house. . . . General Luna was killed in the lower part of General Aguinaldo's house by General Aguinaldo's guards. . . . Luna was found with 36 bolo wounds, and more than 40 bullet wounds."

[3] This was the "involving campaign" directed by General Otis in October and November, 1899, under MacArthur (proceeding along the railroad against Tarlak), Lawton (operating through Nueva Écija into Pangasinan), and Wheaton (proceeding by water to the west coast of Pangasinan). Aguinaldo had, as a matter of fact, already directed the dispersion and the beginning of guerrilla warfare when MacArthur reached Tarlak, to find it deserted; Wheaton failed to close up from the sea-coast and connect with Young's heroic troopers; and Lawton broke into an outburst of complete disgust that quite defied the bounds of discipline, when he found that the dilatory direction of movements had let Aguinaldo get through along the west coast of Luzon, to carry insurrection to the north.

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I have not believed, nor can I now believe, that Luna was working for the overthrow of Señor Aguinaldo from the lofty position which he occupied; but it is certain that he aspired to be the chief of the cabinet in place of Señor Paterno, with whom he was not in agreement, because the autonomous programme of the latter was an infraction of the fundamental law of the state and as such constituted a punishable offense.[1] This was shown by an announcement which the newspaper *La Independencia,* under the inspiration of Luna, published a few days before his death, saying that the Paterno-Buencamino cabinet was going to be substituted by another of which Luna would be chief and at the same time Secretary of War. When, a few days afterward, he received the telegram from Señor Aguinaldo summoning him to Kabanatúan, Luna may perhaps have thought that the subject of the conference would be the new cabinet. He did not expect that they were planning to assassinate him precisely at the critical moment when the revolution had the greatest need of his strong and intelligent arm. He could not suppose that a legal and proper ambition would inspire fears on the part of Señor Aguinaldo, who had named him general-in-chief of the Filipino army. True, Luna at times allowed himself to say that Señor Aguinaldo was a man of weak character and an incapable leader; but these words were merely the explosions of an ardent spirit, which saw its plans frustrated for lack of the necessary support. His acts all revealed uprightness and patriotism, united to a zeal and an activity which were the utmost that the conditions permitted. If at times he was precipitate and even cruel in his decisions, it was because the army was in a desperate situation, owing to the demoralization of the soldiers and the lack of supplies; only deeds of valorous temerity and of extraordinary energy could prevent its dissolution.

The death of Andrés Bonifacio had plainly revealed the possession by Señor Aguinaldo of an unrestrained ambition for power, and the personal enemies of Luna, by means of skilful intrigues, exploited this weakness to the ruin of the latter.[2]

[1] The precise question then before the Filipino revolutionary leaders was whether they should retreat from the extreme claims put forth at the time of the formal adoption of the Constitution in January, 1899.

[2] Andrés Bonifacio was, in large part, the organizer of the Katipunan, and was its leading spirit in Manila and the Tagalog provinces lying around Manila, where it became an effective and really serious secret organization in 1895 and 1896. This Tagalog of slight education, porter in a German warehouse of Manila, who had been carried away by reading of the French Revolution and dreamed that he was to play a part in repeating it on Philippine soil, summed up in himself the popular character of the blunderingly organized revolt of 1896. Emilio Aguinaldo was a local chief of the Katipunan in a small section of the province of Cavite, unknown outside of that section except to the leaders of the movement in Manila, when the premature disclosures in August, 1896, of the Katipunan plot for an uprising later in the year led to spasmodic outbreaks against Spanish authority around the city of Manila and in Cavite and Bulakan provinces. Aguinaldo led a little force which captured a small guard of native

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If Señor Aguinaldo, instead of letting Luna be slain, had aided him with all his power, to say that the revolution would have triumphed would be presuming much; but I have not the least doubt that the Americans would have had a higher opinion of the valor and military capacities of the Filipinos. With Luna alive, I am sure that the mortal blow given by General Otis would have been prevented, or at least avoided in time, and the incapacity of Señor Aguinaldo for military command would not have been clearly shown. Moreover, in order to get rid of Luna, Señor Aguinaldo made use of the very soldiers whom Luna had punished for infraction of discipline; Señor Aguinaldo, then, slew discipline, destroying his own army. With the fall of Luna, its stanchest support, the revolution fell; and the ignominy of the fall, recoiling entirely upon Señor Aguinaldo, caused in turn his own moral death, a thousand times more bitter than physical death. So Providence punishes the great.

To sum up: the revolution failed, because it was badly directed; because its director gained his place, not through meritorious, but through opprobrious acts; because, instead of supporting the men of most usefulness to the people, he, jealous of those men, rendered them useless. Believing that the aggrandizement of the people was nothing more than his own personal aggrandizement, he did not rate the merit of men according to their capacity, character, and patriotism, but according to the degree of friendship or kinship that united them with him; and, wishing to have his favorites disposed to sacrifice themselves for him, he showed himself lenient even toward their faults. For his having thus contemned the people, the people abandoned him; and, because the

soldiers, who were led by a Spanish sergeant, but who were themselves ready to desert to the rebellion; this incident, which travelled far in Cavite province and grew as it went, was the original foundation of Aguinaldo's reputation. He speedily became chief among the native leaders in that province. Meanwhile, the conspirators north of Manila, under Bonifacio, were fleeing, surrendering under Blanco's amnesty proclamation, or being captured. Bonifacio made his way into Cavite province, carrying 20,000 pesos of the funds that had been raised. He and Aguinaldo were virtually joint commanders, with separate headquarters, during the early months of 1897, when General Polavieja was making ready for the campaign that was to restore the control of the province to Spanish authority. The rout of the revolutionists on all hands in March, 1897, led to bitter recriminations between the leaders. The most reliable report is that Aguinaldo had Bonifacio seized and tried by one of the summary courts which Bonifacio himself had been employing to remove those hostile to him. Some say that Bonifacio was acquitted by the court, others that he was convicted but publicly pardoned by Aguinaldo as a sign of clemency, being seized again and secretly executed. What is certain is that he disappeared at this time. As to his execution, there is no certain information. Some say that he was shot and thrown over a rock in western Cavite, some that he was made to see that it was best for him to jump over a rock. Again, it is declared that he was condemned by the military court and executed in "legal" form—as legal, that is, as the forms he himself had been employing. Aguinaldo was henceforth the recognized "generalissimo" of the revolution, until the bargain at Biak-na-bató.

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people abandoned him, he had to fall, like an idol of wax, melted in the heat of adversity. May we not forget a lesson so terrible, learned at the cost of indescribable sufferings.

The introduction to this manuscript of Mabini's on the revolution is in the form of a "Manifesto" to the Filipinos, which is chiefly interesting on autobiographical grounds.[1] For Americans, however, it is of especial interest to note the reasons which Mabini assigns for reaching the conclusion that the Filipinos have, by a great majority, willed that the war should stop. Among other things, Mabini seems desirous of asserting that he had been more conservative than radical; at least he asserts that he was one of those who in 1896 thought agitation and work along educative lines better than a campaign of revolt. Looking back, then, upon the whole period of Filipino agitation, and particularly to that phase which began with the formation of the "Liga Filipina" among the educated reformers in 1892 and ended with the Katipunan revolt in 1896, Mabini would stamp himself as one preferring to be enrolled under Rizal's banner rather than that of the revolutionists.

In this "manifesto" we have the theorist speculating on theory and practice, saying: "If truth is found in the harmony between reason and experience, so in the harmony between theory and practice is virtue found." "Virtue" has a broader scope of meaning in Spanish than in English, to be sure, but Mabini himself could scarcely have explained just what he meant by this sentence, one of a sort favorite with him. His definition of what religion meant to him is also of interest, especially in connection with his "True Decalogue" of 1898, which has been mentioned above.

We may smile at the dominant note of egotism, the occasional touch of childishness, its author's want of experience, and the lack of a saving grace of humor; but this testament of a young-old man on the brink of the grave is too pathetically serious to be dismissed thus, even merely as an individual human document. Viewed as an expression of Filipino racial sentiment, of a nascent patriotism, the still tenacious assertion of a dawning national consciousness, it touches too intimately upon the underlying bases of a grave problem of state now confronting us of America to permit of its going unheeded into the archives of unread documents. Mabini was not a neurotic, errant Filipino genius, though he occasionally appeared in that light; he was the true spokesman of the "Young Filipino Party", the best of whose aims we must hope to see the Filipinos as a people rise into ability and disposition to carry out.

The involved sentences of the original text have been translated

[1] It was printed in *El Comercio*, Manila, July 29 and 30, 1903.

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very literally, not to run into difficulties of another sort than that of extracting logical meanings from some of them. The document follows:

MANIFESTO.

Although from May, 1899, till the following November, when I was captured by the American forces, not only did I not occupy any official position, but I also lived at a distance from the Filipino government; nevertheless, having been treated as one of the defenders of the cause of the people, I believe it part of my duty to give account to my compatriots of my efforts, now that I believe it proper to consider them at an end.

From my capture until my deportation to Guam, I had the honor to confer in great detail with Generals MacArthur and J. F. Bell over the termination of the war and the pacification of the islands. A summary relation of the general results of these conferences will give an idea of my procedure.[1]

The said generals began by expressing to me their keen desire that I should aid in the pacification of the islands, since by this means alone would the Filipinos come to attain their own well-being. To which I replied that I ardently wished the same thing, and asked them to point out the manner in which they would appreciate my co-operation. They then told me that they would have confidence in me and would accept my services only after I should have recognized unconditionally American sovereignty in the Philippines, especially if I would then aid them in the establishment of a government which they thought the most efficacious for the happiness of the Filipino people. I again replied that, in so far as I should do what they demanded of me, in the state of mind in which my fellow-countrymen then were, the latter would at once withdraw the confidence which they had in me, and, my influence among the Filipinos being lost, I should be of no use for the purposes of pacification nor for any other useful purpose.[2]

[1] On May 5, 1900, General Arthur MacArthur succeeded General Otis as commanding general and military governor in the Philippines, and soon after General James Franklin Bell was called in from the command of the district including Pangasinan province to serve as provost-marshal-general of Manila. After the proclamation of amnesty in June, 1900, many efforts were made, especially by Bell, who often visited Mabini in person, to secure the influence of the latter in behalf of peace. Mabini also had an interview with the newly arrived Taft Commission. Mabini was at this time given quite complete freedom of movement and wrote for the Filipino press when he chose. He would not, however, commit himself to acceptance of American sovereignty. His reasons, outlined below, were given at greater length in the correspondence he had with General Bell, which was published in the Filipino press.

[2] Mabini omits one, perhaps the chief, reason why he and others held off from acceptance of the offers for conciliation made by the McKinley administration both through the military authorities at Manila and through the Civil Commission; this was the hope of such an outcome of the presidential election of November, 1900, as would secure the recognition of Filipino independence and

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The generals mentioned saw nothing in my reply but a pretext for continuing in a state which they characterized as one of systematic opposition to the plans of the Americans, declaring to me on this account that they were convinced that my intransigent attitude and that of Señor Aguinaldo were the only obstacles to the wished-for peace, and, as they were determined to secure it, for the welfare of the Filipinos themselves, they might find themselves compelled to remove such obstacles by deporting the intransigents. I stated that, in my judgment, the revolution had been produced not by mere personal ambitions, but by the unsatisfied aspirations of the people; that I was fully convinced that, should Señor Aguinaldo and I work in open disagreement with public opinion, we should become men without prestige and finally incapable of preventing new leaders, sooner or later, taking up the fight to continue it; that true peace was to be brought about only by the confidence which the Americans might learn how to inspire in the Filipinos, and a proceeding as arbitrary as violent was never going to inspire such confidence; that the experience acquired during Spanish domination shows that deportation serves only to arouse hatred and hostile feelings, because it is cruel and unjust to impose the double punishment of imprisonment and banishment for an indefinite period upon persons the charges against whom have not been proved in legal form. And I concluded by saying that, far from opposing the plans of the Americans, I had tried to show sincerely the real sentiments of the Filipinos in general and of the revolutionists in particular, to prevent ignorance on these points developing a policy mistaken and prejudicial to the cause of peace; and that I thought to preserve my prestige at every cost, moved alone by the desire of being useful not only to the Filipinos but also to the Americans. The latter might be mistaken in their estimates, it might be that, in spite of my deportation, and of the capture or surrender of Aguinaldo, minds (*las ideas*) would not be pacified; in such case the aid of the Filipinos who had not lost the confidence of the revolutionists would be indispensable for the realization of peace, and for this purpose I wished to hold myself in reserve, in lack of others who were better, or at least to aid and serve these latter.

Studying now the subsequent events, I do not find any evidence that the deportation to Guam contributed in any way to the capture of Aguinaldo and Lukban or to the surrender of Malvar and other Filipino leaders. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that this mistake had not a little influence in prolonging the war and in causing more shedding of blood. Diplomacy having been despised as a weapon of the weak, the war necessarily ended only when the revolutionists ceased to possess means to continue it.[1] The ordinary and natural course of

also, they believed at the time, the immediate recognition of the late Filipino government itself.

[1] Here again Mabini is not quite candid, or at any rate he omits to state fully the circumstances leading to the quite general laying down of arms in early

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things is not that the weak should conquer the strong. We fought under the conviction that our duty and dignity demanded of us the sacrifice of defending, while we could, our liberties, because without them social equality between the dominant caste and the native class would be practically an impossibility, and so we should not succeed in establishing perfect justice between us; but we knew that it would not be long before we should exhaust our scanty resources and that our defeat was inevitable. War became, then, unjustifiable from the moment when the immense majority of the people preferred to submit to the conqueror and many of the revolutionists themselves passed to his ranks, because, not being able to enjoy their natural liberties while the American forces prevented it, and not having the resources for removing this obstacle, they deemed it prudent to yield and to have hope in the promises made in the name of the people of the United States. The surrender of the last opposing bands was followed by a proclamation of amnesty, and on August 24, 1902, the deportees in Guam were told that they might return to their country, provided they should swear to recognize and accept voluntarily the supreme authority of the United States in the Philippines and to maintain sincere fidelity and obedience to the same, without mental reservation or thought of evading this obligation. In order to quiet scruples of conscience, since it did not seem to me reasonable nor proper to give my word without first assuring myself whether I ought or ought not to do it, I asked that they bring me as a prisoner to this capital [Manila], in accordance with the proclamation, which stated that the oath might be taken before any authority in the Philippine archipelago. The governor of Guam promised to communicate my request to the proper authorities, but after saying that he probably would not learn the decision for some months. Nevertheless, I preferred to wait, and on February 9, 1903, the officer of the prison handed me a letter from the governor, notifying me that I was free to go anywhere, except to the Philippines, whither I could not return without taking the oath of obedience and fidelity.

I asked time to consider, for it was not so easy for me to decide as at first it seemed. In the first place, I believe like any other man in certain truths which, after the fashion of a guide or rule, direct my conscience in judging my acts, constituting my religion. That religion

1901. "Diplomacy" and conciliation were employed, particularly by means of the Federal Party, a Filipino peace-organization, and by means of the conciliatory measures for the inauguration of civil government in towns and provinces and the laws of the Civil Commission regarding civil service reform, education, etc. These accompanied a more rigorous military campaign, which undoubtedly played its part; but to ascribe the ensuing peace in a majority of provinces entirely to military sternness and the exhaustion of the people would be very wide of the truth. Mabini does not mention the revolutionary leaders, many of them of more authority and prestige than either Lukban or Malvar, who surrendered both prior to and soon after the capture of Aguinaldo, itself merely a spectacular incident in the general movement toward peace at the time.

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teaches me that all authority over the people resides in the people themselves, by the provisions of natural law. Hence it was that, before the idea of the oath recognizing and pledging fidelity to the authority of the United States, I should imagine myself invoking God to sanction an act contrary to the law or order which He Himself set up at the moment of establishing His plan of the world. My conscience told me it was a blasphemy to ask God to aid in a thing which He Himself disapproves. Moreover, if the free expression of thought is one of the privileges of every citizen in the Philippines, would it be legal to require of me to renounce my beliefs from the moment when I promise to lead a peaceful and honorable life? If the practice observed in all civilized nations extends the said liberty to all doctrines that do not promote the disturbance of the social order and the corruption of customs, could an oath be considered valid that was imposed by the executive power against the spirit of American institutions and the right interpretation of the laws governing in the Philippines? Having taken the oath of unconditional fidelity, would it be lawful for me, without being false to the fidelity sworn, afterward to advocate the lessening of that authority, asking for the people the self-government publicly promised to be conferred upon the Filipinos when they shall be fit? If every obligation contrary to natural law is essentially null, is it not more practicable and helpful to try to find some other procedure that will reconcile the respect due to the law and the fulfilment of the proper duties of every state with the liberty of conscience and the promises of the government, in order that the Filipinos may not become accustomed to looking upon perjury as lawful? If at all events the government must use force to punish those who disobey it, is not requiring the oath of a simple citizen the same as confessing that it has not a right to rule without his consent?

It is true that he who attempts to govern only with theory must fail, because the science of government is essentially practical; but it is true also that every practice contrary to theory, or rather to reason and truth, is properly an abuse, that is to say a corrupt practice, since it corrupts society. The success of him who governs always results from practice (*la práctica*) adjusted to the natural and unchangeable order of things and to the special necessities of the locality, which success is obtained by the aid of theoretical knowledge and of experience. It is not, then, theory, but practice confused by evil passions or ignorance, which is the origin of all governmental failures. If the government of the United States has been able to conduct the Union along the road of prosperity and greatness,[1] it is because its practices have not

[1] Here Mabini's conception of government as a thing proceeding from above again exhibits itself. Social reform, in his conception, was a matter of governmental decrees; practical rulership depended entirely upon the rulers. The notion that the United States has given the world the great example of a successful republic, not because of a clever scheme of government and able rulers, but because of the spirit and temper of the people themselves, is something that had never dawned upon him.

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departed from the theory contained in the Declarations [*sic*] of Independence nor from the Rights of Man, which are an exposition of the principles of natural law established by the revolutions of science in the field of politics. If truth is found in the harmony between reason and experience, so in the harmony between theory and practice is virtue found.

Nevertheless, after many vacillations and much anxious mental searching, I felt at last the tranquillity produced by a firm conviction. My conscience is satisfied that it was permissible for me to take the oath, because I could not avoid it, for the reason that a necessity more imperious than love for the truth demanded my return to the islands. The more we read the history of humanity, the more we observe that, in the frequent wars which have afflicted the peoples of the earth from times most ancient till the present, if places and cities had always to surrender to the conqueror, reason and justice had to yield also, many times if not always, to the exigencies of force. The conquered peoples submitted to the impositions of the conquerors to save their existence, indispensable for the preservation of mankind, the supreme necessity or law of nature. Now that the Filipino people has submitted to the authority of the United States to avoid ruin, my remaining outside of the islands might be interpreted as opposition to the popular will, as persistence in the continuance of a strife which, because of its unequal conditions, must be ruinous in the extreme. When the people plunged into the war, I felt it my duty to be at its side, aiding it in suffering to the end; now that it feels itself unable to continue striving for its rights, I feel that I ought also to be at its side, to bid it not to despair, but to have greater confidence in itself, in justice, in the future.

In truth, I never had sufficient valor to disturb my countrymen so long as they preferred to live in tranquillity. I was an enthusiastic laborer by the side of Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, and others who formerly, after having opposed the evils which a discretionary, arbitrary administration imposed upon the Filipinos, asked of the Spanish government that the Philippines be made politically the same as a province of the Spanish peninsula, for the very purpose of preventing that many Filipinos should seek in separation the remedy for these evils, through the organization of such a society as the Katipunan and an uprising like that which occurred in 1896. Knowing the calamities and miseries which always arise from the disturbance of public order, I was not a member of the Katipunan nor did I take part in the uprising. But when, in 1898, I observed everywhere the unrest and indignation produced by the blind obstinacy of the Spanish government and the cruelties with which it repaid the services of those who had shown it the dangers of its bad administration of the Philippines and had offered plans for doing away with these, I saw the popular will clearly manifested and declared it my duty to obey it and take up the revolutionary cause, in order that, destroying only the decaying and the useless of the old régime, it might

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establish another and a new régime, more adequate to the real needs of the Filipinos and more adaptable to the changes or reforms which its civilization as it progressed should demand. I went into the struggle, believing that I followed the voice of the people, and I now abandon it for the same reason.

A past of this sort fixes the rule for my future conduct. Instead of plotting new uprisings, I have to seek the methods for preventing them; for such, it seems to me, is the duty in time of peace of every honorable citizen who truly loves his country. The very tenacity with which I have defended in war the rights which natural law confers upon us has been substituted by the conviction that the recognition of these rights by the United States is the surest guaranty of peace and the strongest safeguard against future insurrections. Struggling as long as our strength and reason permitted, we have only succeeded in showing our love for liberty; and, now that the United States has seen fit to grant us this in part, guaranteeing to each citizen the exercise of certain rights which make the social life one less narrowly restricted, it devolves upon us to show that we only wish such rights, that we only desire the free exercise of our activities, to increase the stock of our culture and our welfare through honorable labor, that we may possess the capacity that will justify our claim to the promised recognition of the remaining part. [Literally rendered.][1]

As for the United States, I may say that it will very probably seek to carry out its promises, inasmuch as it knows: (1) that its authority has not been sought by, but imposed upon, the Filipinos; (2) that upon its treatment of them depends the decision whether the present paralyzation of the war shall mean a real peace or simply a longer or shorter truce; (3) that Spain, by prohibiting in the Philippines the formation of associations and political parties in order to prevent their being interpreters of the people's desires, fostered the formation of guerrilla bands, and, by proscribing the Philippine League[2], justified the Katipunan; (4)

[1] Proof that Mabini was sincere in counselling acceptance of American government (while making a campaign by peaceable methods for the future independence of his people) was afforded during the interval spent in Manila prior to his death, by his letter of advice to the bandit leader San Miguel. See this letter and his subsequent correspondence with Governor Taft on the subject in *Report of Philippine Commission, 1903*, I. 26–29.

[2] The Liga Filipina, organized by Rizal upon his return to Manila in 1892, but practically suppressed by his deportation to Mindanao almost immediately thereafter. In order to forge a chain of proof of consistent conspiracy against Rizal after the Katipunan outbreak in 1896, the Spanish military prosecutors made out that the Liga had been formed with the express object of working for political independence. This claim was not put forth in 1892, and had not good evidence in its support in 1896. Rizal declared that the object of the league was to "raise the arts", stimulate his people to greater activity in things commercial, industrial, and educational—to prepare the people, in short, for greater political liberty; such broad general aims may, of course, have looked to future political independence of Spain, but that does not make the league an illegal conspiracy to that end, at least under any free government.

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that, finally, every colonial régime which does not understand how to adjust itself to the always growing needs of the colonies and their constantly easier and closer communication with civilized peoples fosters the separation of the colonies at the same time with the political corruption and the decadence of the metropolis. If we add to these counsels of reason and teachings of history the pride of a people which knows its own power and greatness and believes that it has the practical understanding of life, we may assert that at present there exists not a single reason to justify confidence on our part, and yet we ought to forget past grievances and sacrifice them in behalf of reconciliation and fraternal union between Americans and Filipinos. Not only has the United States assured us that this union is the surest guaranty of our happiness, but it has by force compelled us to this belief, making itself arbiter of our fate. So be it, then; but in the meantime let us strive that our intelligence and our soul may be worthy of all that is ennobling and honorable in life, waiting till time shall lift the veil of the future to show us the true path of progress and happiness for us.

Fearing that my sickness has been the principal cause of the inefficacy of my labors and incapacitates me for the tasks demanded by the solution of the great problems of the present situation, I return to the obscurity whence, thrust forth by circumstances, I emerged, in order to hide my shame and grief, not for having committed any improper act, but for not having been able to render better service. I am not, indeed, the one called upon to say whether I have done well or ill, have labored intelligently or under error; nevertheless, I do not conclude without saying that I possess no other balm to assuage the bitterness of a painful life except the satisfaction produced by the conviction of not having committed any error voluntarily. May I be able to say the same at the hour of my death!

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. Edited by HOWARD J. ROGERS, A.M., LL.D., Director of Congresses. Volume II. *History of Politics and Economics, History of Law, History of Religion.* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1906. Pp. ix, 661.)

THIS second of the eight volumes which are to give us the remarkable series of papers read year before last by the scholars of the Old World and the New at the St. Louis Exposition covers three of the six "Departments" which made up what was known as the "Division" of "Historical Science". Doubtless the three remaining Departments of that Division—History of Language, History of Literature, and History of Art—will furnish the content of another volume.

At this late date it would be idle as well as invidious to question or to discuss the Congress's classification of human knowledge or its choice of the scholars who should represent the divisions thus created. Nor could it serve a useful purpose to recapitulate within the brief limits of a review the authors and the titles of the three dozen able addresses which compose the present volume. As everybody will remember, each Department, after listening with its fellow Departments to the opening paper of the Chairman of the Division, and after hearing two addresses of its own—one on the fundamental methods and conceptions of its branch of science, the other on its progress during the past century—was then to dissolve itself into "Sections", each of which should likewise listen to two papers, the first dealing with the relations of its subtopic to neighboring fields, the second with its own present problems. Loyally carried out in the main, though with often a happy excursion and now and then a frank departure, the project in its literary incarnation lies now before us. What can be said of the result as a whole?

Already in his opening address Chairman Woodrow Wilson strikes a key-note. With admirable tact taking as his theme "The Variety and Unity of History", he finds place and mission for each of the great lines of study into which the Congress has divided "Historical Science"; but it is only to insist with a warmer emphasis on the essential oneness of the historian's field. The subject of History is not politics or economics or law or religion or literature or art or language. It is not all these combined. It is that of which these are but a few of the myriad changing phases. "All history has society as its subject-matter" (p. 8)—its theme is human life. From these opening thoughts of President Wilson to the final papers in the closing group—to Professor Har-

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nack's underscored assertion (p. 622) that "The history of the church is part and parcel of universal history, and can be understood only in connection with it", and Professor Reville's jubilant affirmation (p. 645) that "The water-tight bulkhead which separated the so-called 'profane' from the so-called 'sacred' studies has been removed" and that "the progress of our general historical knowledge makes us recognize ever better that the history of Christianity . . . is intimately bound with the economical, moral, social, and religious history of the surrounding world"—this conviction of the oneness of History is the most recurrent note. As the programme of the Congress knows "science", but not "sciences", so its historians will have no divided history.

Most striking is this in that first body of speakers whom the logic of the programme has grouped under the rubric of "Political History". Their neighbors, however they protest their freedom, devote themselves to the field prescribed them; the political historians not only protest, they rebel. Not one of them restricts himself to the history of politics or seems to suppose himself expected to do so. Few of them even put political history foremost. One or two expressly remand it to the background. The apostasy is the more significant because it is clearly so unconscious. Who shall say that it is to be regretted?

All the groups, and not alone the opening speakers in each, are much concerned with questions of historical method. Yet, strange to say, that fundamental problem as to the logic of the historian's processes which is just now so exercising historians and logicians alike receives hardly a mention. Even Professor Colby's sparkling paper on "Historical Synthesis", though it touches it in passing, scarcely grasps its full import. Professor Lamprecht, whose own tenets are so hazarded, is of course not oblivious; but his attention is here mainly given to the positive exposition of his "socio-psychologic" theory—a theory of which, it is to be feared, he will find almost as little echo in the papers of his colleagues. Doubtless courtesy to such a guest contributed to this silence. Doubtless, too, many, like Professor Colby, "doubt whether academic utterances as to what history is or should be, help us very far forward" (p. 166). The unstudied implications of these thoughtful papers are, when they skirt the topics in dispute, of all the greater weight. Among the questions more largely ventilated is that as to the right of history to be an art as well as a science—or, as Professor Robinson, who makes this the chief topic of his paper on "The Conception and Methods of History", prefers to phrase it, the "relations between history and literature". Another old friend whose face peers out from many a paper is the issue, in its older form, between the narrator and the historical philosopher.

But perhaps the most gratifying quality of the volume as a whole is the sane and generous spirit with which even questions so hotly mooted as these are lifted out of the mire of altercation. It is, for example, precisely Professor Adams, who most keenly points out the besetting faults of the sociologist and the economist in their dealings with history,

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who is most earnest in appeal to them for help, declaring (p. 137) that "without the work of the economic historian and the sociologist, the task of completing our scientific knowledge of medieval history" seems to him almost impossible.

To discuss the individual qualities of a series of studies so rich in variety and in personality is here impossible. There is in them little that suggests perfunctory work. All are suggestive, many are brilliant, a few seem notable contributions to knowledge or to thought. The briefer papers contributed to the sessions by those not officially speakers are here printed in abstract only. A somewhat unexpected but well-made and useful appendix to the several groups is a select bibliography of the literature of each subject.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship. By J. G. FRAZER. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 309.)

SINCE the simultaneous appearance in 1861 of Maine's *Ancient Law* and Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* each year's research has revealed more and more clearly the relative culture-value of institutional history. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that the history of institutions is pure *Kulturgeschichte*. It is the essential element in sound sociological and anthropological investigation. The fact is gradually becoming familiar that all institutions are the slow resultant of human experience, the residuum of social struggle. As Frazer remarks (p. 3), even the great institutions of our civilized society, such as marriage, private property, and the worship of a god, "have their roots in savagery, and have been handed down to us . . . through countless generations, assuming new outward forms in the process of transmission, but remaining in their inmost core substantially unchanged". In particular the study of primitive magic promises to become a rich field for the discovery of institutional beginnings. Already this field has been partially explored by several English writers whose works show decided originality. Spencer and Gillen's detailed investigation of the sexual customs and other social conditions of the *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899) has been supplemented (1904) by their account of the *Northern Tribes* of the same region. In his *Mystic Rose* (1902) Crawley sought the origins of matrimonial institutions in the various usages arising in sexual taboo; while in 1900 Frazer's *Golden Bough*, an epoch-making study of magic and religion, reached the second edition.

The present work deals with the "sacred character and magical functions of kings in early society". It consists mainly of "fresh examples or illustrations of principles" (p. 2) already stated in the *Golden Bough*; and in substance it will appear in the third edition of that book now in press. The text is composed of nine lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, during 1905; and it is a very clear and entertaining discussion of a difficult subject, but supported in the numer-

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ous foot-notes by a full bibliographical apparatus. The author finds that the primitive kingship is a development of the office and functions of the sorcerer or magician. As a starting-point for his discussion, he takes a particular case of the sacred kingship, "the priesthood of Diana at Nemi, which combined the regal with the sacred character; for the priest bore the title of *Rex Nemorensis* or King of the Wood, and his office was called a kingdom" (p. 9). In the first chapter evidence is adduced to prove "that the worship of Diana in her sacred grove at Nemi was of great importance and immemorial antiquity; . . . that associated with her was a water-nymph Egeria, who discharged one of Diana's own functions by succouring women in travail, and who was popularly supposed to have mated with an old Roman king in the sacred grove; further, that Diana of the Wood herself had a male companion, Virbius by name [identical with the Greek hero Hippolytus], who was to her what Adonis was to Venus, or Attis to Cybele; and, lastly, that this mythical Virbius was represented in historical times by a line of priests known as the Kings of the Wood, who regularly perished by the swords of their successors [always runaway slaves], and whose lives were in a manner bound up with a certain tree in the grove, because, so long as that tree was uninjured, they were safe from attack" (pp. 26–27). In the sequel, each element in the facts thus established is acutely interpreted in the light of the comparative history of sacred kingships, and in that of the correlated general principles of magic.

However, before considering the genesis of the kingship, the theory and practice of magic are expounded in the second, third, and fourth chapters. Here the author has made a distinct advance upon the results won by earlier investigators. In his view, magic rests upon two fundamental principles of thought: "first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact continue to act on each other even after the contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion" (pp. 37–38). From the law of similarity "the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it"; from the law of contact "he concludes that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not" (p. 38). "Sympathetic magic" thus has two branches: "homœopathic magic" and "contagious magic". These are illustrated by a wealth of examples. Especially helpful is the division of the system of sympathetic magic into "positive precepts" and "negative precepts". "The positive precepts are charms: the negative precepts are taboos. The whole doctrine of taboo, in fact, would seem to be only a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact" (p. 52). Thus, if magic be distinguished as theoretical magic or pseudo-science, and practical magic or pseudo-art; then sorcery will represent the positive and taboo the negative side of the pseudo-art.

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Of vital significance for understanding the rise of the kingship is the distinction between private and public magic. The public magician, the rain-maker for instance, is supposed to perform a service for the whole community. Accordingly the ablest men are called into the service of public magic. Moreover, in self-protection, they are stimulated to acquire real knowledge of nature's laws in order to diminish the danger of failures. True science is thus developed from pseudo-science. In turn this special knowledge becomes the basis of magisterial power. The monarch arises. "On the whole, then, we seem to be justified in concluding that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old *magician or medicine-man*" (p. 127). The special class of sorcerers, entrusted with functions upon which the public welfare and safety depend, tend to "blossom out into sacred kings". In a further stage of evolution the magician yields to the priest; and the human king becomes an incarnate god.

In the concluding five chapters of his book Dr. Frazer has with extraordinary insight minutely applied the principles thus won by his investigation to the interpretation of the rites and myths connected with Diana at Nemi and her priest-king, the *Rex Nemorensis*. There is not space here even for a summary of his argument. He has made a notable contribution to the literature of primitive sociology; and the further development of the subject, promised in the forthcoming edition of the *Golden Bough*, will be eagerly awaited.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxx, 634, with 200 illustrations and maps.)

THIS book fills a great want. Hitherto there has been no history of Egypt in the English language at once sufficiently reliable, full, and popular. The best English work, W. M. F. Petrie's valuable *History of Egypt*, has the great disadvantage of being written entirely for Egyptologists. Breasted has followed chiefly the plan of Eduard Meyer's very readable sketch (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, now antiquated); expanding it somewhat after the model of Maspero's larger work. His book is lucidly and elegantly written, and I have heard that it reads like a novel, to the non-orientalist. The illustrations, among which there are some good, new photographs, contribute considerably to the attractive nature of the book, which doubtless will meet with great success.

The specialist will find many recent discoveries and researches incorporated in the volume and several original observations, for example, the account of the rise of the twelfth dynasty (pp. 154–155). Some general sketches of the culture of various periods are meritorious, for example, that on the earliest period (chapter 3), chapters 13, 18, etc.

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The book is not addressed to the student of historical science who is himself no Egyptologist. It lacks the apparatus of references which the scientific worker cannot do without. There are, indeed, some footnotes, but with rare exceptions the author refers only to his own publications (among which, it is true, there is a very comprehensive collection of translations). Furthermore he does not emphasize the many uncertainties and problems of Egyptian history as the historian would like. A popular work, of course, must smooth over such difficulties. The writer has done this very largely and has filled out gaps, often with some poetic license. Thus he claims, for example, that the famous queen Hatshepsout was "beautiful and gifted" (p. 267); but the dry historian must insist that we have neither the mummy nor a reliable picture to prove her supposed beauty, nor a line of writing which would exclude the possibility that she may have been a very ordinary person or even an idiotic cipher, serving as a legitimizing pretext for the ambitions of her ruling officials. (This latter possibility might even seem much more plausible, especially, if Breasted's partly hypothetical construction of her reign (chap. 15) should prove to be correct.) Other instances of poetic license might lead to more serious misunderstandings, for example, the hypothetical "free middle class, liable to military service" (p. 246). Not everybody would agree with the amount of faith given to Greek historians (Herodotus, p. 37), especially to Manetho (*e. g.*, p. 148).

It is not possible to notice here rather numerous points of disagreement in regard to detail. I would only criticize some general principles. The writer seems to me to view Egypt too often not as a critic but as an over-enthusiastic lover and admirer, a fault rather general with the older school of Egyptologists. In face of the one-sidedness of historians who knew only Greece and Rome, orientalists found it necessary to paint the Orient and its importance sometimes with very thick coloring. Nowadays it seems no longer necessary to do this; we may even show numerous defects without fear of reviving the old injustice. For example, the most remarkable bequest of ancient Egypt is, doubtless, its art, which was long underestimated. But to ascribe even chiaroscuro (p. 378) to painters who never advanced to recognizing light and shadow seems a strong overstatement. The poetic enthusiasm of our writer manifests itself in a quite unbalanced overrating of the small military achievements of the Egyptians, one of the least military nations of antiquity (*e. g.*, p. 320). He concentrates his interest so strongly on this period of Syrian conquests and its (I believe, cheap and fruitless) laurels that he treats the period after 1200 B. C. rather slightly and breaks off with the Persian conquest. This is not just. That later period, to mention only one side of it, offers so many points of contact with the history of other nations that it may seem to very many people the most interesting epoch. However, it would rob the book of its most attractive features, if its warm enthusiasm should be reduced everywhere to meagre, cool, cautious statements accompanied by the

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heavy apparatus of the historian. The real purpose of the work, to interest wider circles in the land of sphinxes and pyramids, has certainly been maintained with great literary ability. I hope it will spread much interest in the ancient East.

Only the treatment of the transliteration of Egyptian names, abounding in unwarranted innovations and inconsistencies, is hardly suited to a popular work. True, the transliteration question is the weakest spot of Egyptology, and there is little hope that the general uncertainty and confusion will soon be removed. How necessary a general reform is may be seen from Breasted's mistaking the *t* (*i. e.*, ts) of a certain system of transcription for the Semitic *t*, *i. e.*, English *th* (*cf.* "Ereth", p. 483, etc.).

W. MAX MÜLLER.

The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians. By GEORGE STEINDORFF, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology at the University of Leipzig. [American Lectures on the History of Religions, Fifth Series, 1903–1904.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xi, 178.)

THIS brief sketch of Egyptian religion, in five lectures, betrays ability to present dry and difficult subjects in a popular way. It is readable and clear, and avoids unessential details as well as unsafe and unintelligible transcriptions. Some faulty transcriptions are retained on account of their venerable age, for example, the old "Piankhi" (p. 84) or conventional forms like "Maat" (p. 92; but late Egyptian *mêi* suggests different vowels). Why not use for the unwarranted transcription "Twet" (nether-world, p. 126) the late Egyptian pronunciation *Têi*?

The booklet follows the general outlines, style, and largely also the views of Adolf Erman's chapter on Egyptian religion in his *Life in Ancient Egypt* (1894). The chapter on religion proper is extremely brief compared with others on by-paths of religion, such as the burial customs. The chapter on temples and ceremonies is proportionately very full, and includes some new matter.

A criticism of Steindorff's views on Egyptian religion proper is not easy for one who does not share those views in several essential respects. Steindorff reproduces the opinions of a school of which Maspero was the ablest exponent, opinions which have been dominant for some twenty years and are still held by many. The nucleus of our most important difference of opinion may be found on p. 5: "a religion which, like the whole of Egyptian culture, followed its own development in entire independence of all foreign influence". This greatly overstates the independence of Egyptian culture. We know that Egypt, at all periods, was in close communication with all centres of civilization, at least, of southeastern Europe and western Asia, and that nothing was more strongly subjected to constant foreign influences than its religion. Hence it is impossible to understand the riches of Egyptian mythology from any other standpoint than the comparative one. This point of view is totally

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absent here. True, this deficiency is not very visible to non-specialists, as the booklet hardly touches the immense store of Egyptian mythology, mentioning only what Erman gave, namely, the sketch of the so-called Osiris-myth, the "destruction of mankind", and some mythological facts which are placed in the chapter on magic art (pp. 107 *et seqq.*). This gives an unjust idea of the wealthiest mythology of antiquity. However, it must be admitted that this wealth still remains largely unexploited and that five lectures could not treat it adequately.

Steindorff gives, unfortunately, no bibliography or references which enable the non-Egyptologist to control the book. From the few references in the foot-notes no reader can see what science owes, for example, to Maspero's *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes* and to Wiedemann's handbook of Egyptian religion. I select from numerous minor criticisms a few: Did the religion of the ancient Egyptians (p. 1) really penetrate into their life even more deeply than was the case with Israel? Were they not rather the most superficial people of the ancient Orient in that regard? Their abundant superstitions did not exclude a lack of true religiosity. Some scholars question the solarization of the local divinities for "quite the earliest ages" (p. 20). What do we know of the development claimed (p. 24) for "somewhere about the Second Dynasty"? We have no monuments. Giving, however, a god, who usually appeared as an animal, the power to appear also in human form cannot have been only a later development; a god without that power would lack divinity. The divine name *Nun* (p. 36), so seductive for Assyriologists, is one of the many misunderstandings of the later Egyptians. Its original consonants were *N(y?)w*. The hypothesis of the origin of the obelisks (p. 41) is not warranted by the monuments which always distinguish the pillar (*'n, yn*) of On from the obelisk. What the latter means has been shown by Winckler. The true name of the goddess (pp. 54, 89, etc.) was Ubastet, Webastet, not "Bastet", and the Greeks call her city Bubastos, not "Bubastis". The history of the "reformation" (pp. 58 *et seqq.*) by that heretical king is obscure; we have no proof, however, that the persecution of the Theban divinities meant a general abolition of the other local gods. P. 62, ult., conflicts with p. 161, etc. No "Baalim" (p. 69) are known in Egypt, only "the Baal". "Kadesh" (*ibid.*) as an "urban goddess" is a misunderstanding of an abandoned theory, which connected her with the city of Kidsh. That Anat (*ibid.*) was "the Syrian goddess of war" cannot be substantiated; her warlike character seems an acquisition of Egyptian origin. The powerful position of the high priest of Amon (p. 96) was a rather late development. The necklace of the Memphite high priest (p. 99) showed no "curiously barbaric figures of animals" from prehistoric time, but those of the well-known worshipping "spirits of Pe, Dep and Nekhen". The decree of Zoser (pp. 101 *et seqq.*) is one of the clumsiest priestly forgeries. The "Shadow" as another representation of the human soul ought to be mentioned (p. 122). The question of human sacrifice (p. 141) is much more complicated. The

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duplicate of the head in clay (p. 153) points to the cutting off of this seat of life, so exhaustively treated by Wiedemann. The alleged Egyptian influence on Jewish ideas (p. 169) is not successfully illustrated. Still more unfortunate is the reviving of the old theories about Egyptian influences on Moses and his contemporaries, for example, the long-refuted comparison of the "golden calves" and the Apis cult (p. 167). I repeat, the booklet gives about as good a picture of a complicated and wide subject as could be given in such limited space, and some further minor criticisms would not alter this judgment.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

Greece from the Coming of the Hellenes to A. D. 14. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, Litt.D. [The Story of the Nations.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. Pp. xix, 416.)

THE author of this smoothly written history has "tried throughout to lay stress upon the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks, rather than on the history of military operations" (p. vii). "The thought of the Greeks and the things done in Greece" form his general theme. We are thus justified in expecting much from the book. It belongs, of course, to a popular series, and can count upon a large circle of readers. Hence it is important that it represent the best modern opinion on the subject. It does not. It contains simply the traditional exposition of Greek history, extended at the end, because of the general insistence that Hellenistic affairs have been too long neglected, not by the new interpretation of the third century B. C., but by a detailed account of the Roman conquest and organization of the East.

The book shows no evidence of contact with continental scholarship since the days of Karl Otfried Müller's *Dorians*. Wilamowitz, Meyer, Busolt, and Beloch have been neither an inspiration nor a warning to Dr. Shuckburgh; but these gentlemen have no right to charge him with national antipathy, for he has treated Bury, his own countryman, with similar indifference. It need hardly be said that writers of less comprehensive works have been ignored also. What sort of a Greek history is possible under these circumstances?

The extension of the name Pelasgian in the post-Homeric literature has no significance for the author, nor does he think the view worth mentioning that Achaean, as a generic term, is an epic convention (pp. 11 *et seqq.*). For him the Pelasgians and the Achaeans are real races, as real almost as the Hellenes, who (subdivided into Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians) succeeded them some time before 800 B. C. The Achaeans are Homer's people: the Hellenes Hesiod's. Herodotus and Thucydides (God forgive them) stand sponsors for the Pelasgians. And so it goes—hard against the grain of one who has painfully unlearned these opinions.

The work has many apt characterizations and fine pieces of descrip-

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tion, but it abounds with misleading half-truths and positive blunders. Thus: Delphi, says Dr. Shuckburgh, "became also the national banking-house, in which most of the leading states had treasure-houses," etc. (p. 42). *Χρήματα δέ*, says Pausanias (X. 11), *οὔτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν*. It is not true that the Pylagorae "represented the great branches of the Greek race, so many being sent by Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian states respectively" (p. 46). The old error is repeated that in all the Greek states "the slaves were more numerous than the free"; or does the author draw no distinction between serfs and slaves (p. 52)? "Military commanders", says Dr. Shuckburgh (p. 62), "were from the first elected, and not chosen by lot." Yet "the archons [of whom the polemarch, who "till some time after B. C. 490 . . . took command in the field" (p. 61), was one] from very early times were appointed by lot either directly from the four primitive tribes, or from a number of names selected by them (*ἐκ προκρίτων*)" (p. 62). What evidence is there for the local division into men of the heights, men of the plain, and men of the sea-coast prior to the legislation of Solon (*ibid.*)? Is it not high time that the sequence, Draco, Cylon, was abandoned, and the view given up that the policy of trying the Alcmaeonidae for sacrilege originated with Solon (p. 67)? There should be no doubt that the Seisachtheia was a direct cancelling of debts (p. 68). The Solonian assessments were maintained throughout the fifth century (p. 73). There is no evidence that the Thetes were *ever* qualified for the financial offices, the archonships, or the army (*ibid.*). Registration on the deme-list took place at eighteen, not at sixteen (*ibid.*). The theory that one thousand of the six thousand jurymen annually enrolled were kept in reserve to revise the laws was disproved twenty years ago (p. 74). No one with Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, section 22, before him should repeat the transparent story that Kleisthenes was ostracized (*ibid.*). The revolt of Cyrus was fixed in 553 B. C. (not in 559, p. 83) by the cylinder of Nabunaid found in 1881. What warrant is there for the statement (p. 107) that "before B. C. 484 the state [Athens] was able to maintain at least two hundred" triremes? The Acropolis was ravaged in 480: Athens was not burned till 479 (p. 117). Constantine followed Plataea by eight not seven hundred years (p. 124). There is no trustworthy authority for the view that the suppression of piracy was an object of the Delian Confederacy (p. 129). The reviewer finds it incredible that "It was understood [in 478/7] that each state [in the Delian Confederacy] was to have a democratic government more or less after the model of the Athenian" (p. 130). Athens policed its empire by sixty not seventy ships (*ibid.*). The walls of Athens were constructed in 479 not 477 (p. 135). There was no entrance-fee for the theatre (p. 139): the state compensated the poor for their attendance. It is not true that the *phoros* was increased by one-third between 478 and 440 (p. 145). On the contrary it had decreased somewhat.

But enough of details. It is of course impossible to enumerate here

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the thousand and one places in which the contents of the book might have been enriched, the emphasis altered, or the analysis strengthened by consulting the modern literature. The author seems to have taken his task too lightly. He has acquired only a superficial acquaintance with Greek historiography. He has failed to co-ordinate properly the data supplied by Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* with the facts previously known; and his treatment of the social and economic development lacks substance and reality through his neglect to use the statistics so laboriously gathered from the ancient books, coins, sites, stones, and papyri. The result is a work of some literary merit, but one pregnant with mischief through restating old misconceptions in graceful language. And yet there was an urgent need for somebody to do for Greek history what Wilamowitz has recently done for Greek literature, to animate a scholarly summary of recent work with the breath of a genial personality.

W. S. Ferguson.

Ancient Legends of Roman History. By Ettore Pais. Translated by Mario E. Cosenza. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 336.)

This volume is made up of lectures given before the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1904–1905, supplemented by others delivered at the universities of Harvard, Columbia, Wisconsin, and Chicago. It "contains special and minute demonstrations of subjects already succinctly treated" in the author's *Storia di Roma*, the scope and nature of which may be indicated by a list of some of the titles: The Excavations in the Forum Romanum, and their Importance for the Most Ancient Roman History; Acca Larentia, the Mother of the Lares and Nurse of Romulus; The Saxum Tarpeium; The Legends of the Horatii, and the Cult of Vulcan; The Fabii at the River Cremera and the Spartans at Thermopylæ; On the Topography of the Earliest Rome; etc. The lectures proper are followed by six elaborate excursuses on such topics as: The Authenticity of the Etruscan Tile from Capua, and the Supremacy of the Etruscans in Campania; The Relations between the Square Palatine, the Square Palisades in Emilia, and the Pretended Terramara of Tarentum; and Servius Tullius and the Lex Ælia-Sentia.

The first lecture, on the critical method to be pursued in the study of early Roman history, is a brief statement of the principles which the author has already laid down in his *Storia di Roma*. The first volume of this work appeared in two parts, in 1898 and 1899, and was devoted to an exhaustive criticism of the sources of the traditional history of Rome down to the time of Pyrrhus. It has been widely discussed and many of its conclusions vigorously opposed, but most scholars will at least agree with Holzapfel's recent statement: "es verdient daher sein Werk, dessen Lektüre stets zu weiterem Nachdenken anregt, . . . bei allen Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der älteren römischen Geschichte die eingehendste Berücksichtigung."

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Pais's attitude in the *Storia* is one of the most pronounced skepticism; and a storm of abuse has descended on his head in consequence of his uncompromising hostility to the present chauvinistic tendencies of the so-called "Italian School" of historians and archeologists. These lectures mark a further advance along the same lines; and while in the *Storia* Pais called in question the validity of early Roman history down to and including the decemvirate, he now seems to cast doubt upon everything that is said to have happened before the Samnite wars. I believe that the conclusions that he reached in his previous work are justified for the most part, and that they must be accepted in large measure as a basis for further investigation, but I cannot say the same of the results arrived at in these lectures. The author is seldom content with giving his views as theories, but states them as truths that admit of no doubt. He is very learned, a master of the whole field of ancient historiography; and the reader is continually carried away by his admiration for the marvellous ingenuity displayed in combining data that apparently have no connection. Too often, however, imagination has driven sober judgment from the field, and, sad to relate, Pais has fallen a victim to the sun-myth theory, which he employs in explanation of early Roman legend so persistently and relentlessly that Cox and Max Müller seem timorous in comparison.

To illustrate the nature of Pais's conclusions, we may take his view of Servius Tullius, who was introduced into Rome from Aricia, and of whom Pais says (p. 147): "Instead of being the sixth *rex* of Rome, he was, originally, the *rex servus*, the priest of the cult of Diana Aricina transferred to the Aventine"; and later (p. 149): "Servius is a Latin conception, and belongs to a solar cult and to that group of legends with which are to be connected, not only Virbius of Aricia and Hippolytus, but also Pelops and Hippodamia." Again (pp. 157–158), by a remarkable combination of the two explanations given by Plutarch of the name Cocles, the story that Horatius Cocles received a wound in his thigh, and the belief that a statue of this hero was erected *in area Vulcani*, together with some other indications, our author concludes that "the statue in the area of Vulcan, supposed to represent the lame Cocles, rather than being the statue of a legendary hero, was that of Vulcan himself"; and he regards Horatius therefore as an "emanation from Vulcan". In the application of his principle that the cults of all the neighboring Latin cities were transferred to Rome, Pais proceeds to make statements like these: "We know that Æneas . . . was merely an ancient Latin god . . . and . . . at the same time, a solar and river divinity . . . Numa and Tullius, kings of Rome, were merely river and solar divinities" (p. 200); "As the result of this process, not only Numa and Servius became kings of the earliest centuries of Roman history, but also the stream Egerius and the lake Turnus were inserted into the history of the deeds of the fifth century. . . . In like manner, the stream Turnus, the rival of Æneas, was changed into that Turnus

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Herdonius . . . the god Minucius was transformed into a tribune of the people, or a *præfectus annonæ*" (p. 201).

I can quote only one or two more instances of the author's peculiar views: "*Tarpeius* and *Tarquininus* are but two forms of the same word" (p. 105), and "Tarquinius Superbus . . . is that same person who was by others called the guardian of the citadel and the father of the vestal Tarpeia" (p. 122); "the competition and the vicinity of the two market-places [the Macellum and the forum Cuppedinis], and the fact that one was so close to the *lacus Servilius*, gave origin to the story of the jealousy and the rivalry between Mælius and Minucius, and to the tale of the arm (*ahala*) which was severed by Servilius" (p. 212).

In the chapter that deals with the recent excavations in the Forum, the views of the author agree in general with those now held by the best topographers, but elsewhere we find statements that will hardly commend themselves, such as the placing of the *saxum Tarpeium* on the Arx (p. 109), and the assumption of a second *Roma quadrata* (*mundus*) near the Lupercal, distinct from that in front of the Palatine temple of Apollo.

The translation is marred by some constantly recurring errors like "arrive to", as well as by many single instances of incorrect usage. Typographical mistakes are numerous, and now and then a slip like this: "Ceres . . . was identified with the Greek Proserpina, who, once a year, descended into Hades in search of Kore" (p. 71).

Very few of the radical views advanced in these lectures will ever be generally accepted, but they cannot fail to arouse opposition and to stimulate fruitful discussion. The erudition and acumen of the author are truly remarkable.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

Old Provence. By THEODORE ANDREA COOK, M.A., F.S.A. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xxiii, 348: xiii, 445.)

AFTER an introduction come chapters on: The Dawn of History; Marius in Provence; Rome at St. Remy and Orange; The Pacification of Provence; Greece and Rome at Arles; Ancient Religions in Provence and Greek Art at Nimes; Life under the Roman Emperors (I., Above Ground; II., Beneath the Surface); and in Volume II.: The Churches and Cathedrals of Provence (I., The Alyscamps and the Kingdom of Arles; II., St. Trophime and St. Gilles); The Fortresses of the South (I., Les Baux; II., Carcassonne; III., Aigues-Mortes); Avignon (I., Bricks and Mortar; II., The French Popes); The Good King René (I., The Troubadours; II., Vaucluse; III., Beaucaire; IV., Tarascon). There are about seventy good illustrations, mainly from photographs, and several reproductions of old maps and plans.

To give the titles of the chapters is almost to review the book. As they suggest, the author has read and travelled. He was interested in

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his theme, and he has produced a readable though not entirely artistic work. But to treat the kaleidoscopic life of southern France from the dawn of history to the Félibres is a large undertaking, particularly for one who has not devoted himself exclusively or primarily to this field. The two important facts about the region are that it was a distributing centre of Greek-Latin civilization and a hotbed of new culture in the medieval period. To the first subject sufficient space and emphasis have been given, but perhaps the treatment is not entirely judicious. Will many concede that the Greeks "have here left traces upon the soil of France that are as remarkable as any to be found in Italy" (I. x), when they recall Paestum, Segesta, Girgenti, Taormina, and Syracuse? Will all subscribe to this method of erasing what has been written by a generation—Maissiat included—upon Hannibal's passage of the Rhone: "I have examined the locality and I have made up my mind, after considerable labour, that a certain route is right, and without further complication or argument I shall give the one which was first suggested by Gilles in 1872, and which no subsequent theories have ever shown to be impossible" (I. 45)? And is not this a trifle hard on the art of topography as well as on the ancients and their commentators: "The classical authorities present a merely unintelligible maze till you have walked over the battlefields they describe" (I. xii)?

Of the other great office of "Provence" Mr. Cook hardly seems to be aware. The troubadours are treated as a subtitle to "The Good King René", who was not a troubadour. Almost nothing is said of the culture of their day. Several of the most important are barely named or not mentioned, while "Geoffrey Rudel", "Guilhem de Cabestan", and (under two different names, neither correct) Folquet de Marseilla are dwelt upon, and two pages are given to a legendary Clémence. The somewhat rambling style of execution is suggested by the author's summary of the chapter (selected at random) on "Rome at St. Remy and Orange" (I. xviii): "The Politics of Rome—Marius and Sulla—Caesar and Pompey—The Problem of the Allobroges—Importance of Vienne [said elsewhere to lie outside the author's field]—Triumphal Monument to Marius at St. Remy—A Spurious Inscription—The Policy of Julius Caesar—His Triumphal Arch at St. Remy—Arch of Augustus at Carpentras—Glanum, Freta, and St. Remy—Roumanille—Nostradamus—Frédéric Mistral—Arch of Tiberius at Orange—Its Inscription—'Arc Admirable' at Arles—Theatre of Orange—The Princess of Orange—William of Orange and of England." It is hard to be satisfied with the author's reason for virtually omitting Toulouse, Narbonne, and Marseille. In short, the work needs a clearer plan, more adequate special knowledge, better judgment and critical discrimination, many more references (there are but very few), more personal reserve, a better index, and a real map. It is pleasant, semi-learned magazine writing.

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BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Modern Liberty. By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. Volumes I. and II. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xxii, 398; xi, 490.)

THOSE who feared that history was in our day passing into an age of specialism, whose products, instead of literature, would be only the scientific results of microscopic research, must long since have begun to smile at their fears. Historical science would seem just now rather to have cause for alarm lest all the time of her best trained workers be devoted to the popularization of her results. And this new work of Dr. Mackinnon, whose first two volumes—"The Middle Ages", "The Age of the Reformation"—lie now before us? Are they popularization or research or perhaps a broader and bolder synthesis?

Their novel title might promise almost anything. Yet, on second thought, is the subject so new as it seems? Lord Acton, too, dreamed of a history of liberty. Could his thought have suggested Mr. Mackinnon's? But no: Mr. Mackinnon tells us that these two volumes of his work were complete before he so much as learned of Lord Acton's dream, and of those two Bridgnorth lectures which were at least a hint at the dream's fulfilment he has clearly never learned at all. Lord Acton's, too, would have been a history of liberty from the beginning—the longer of his two lectures is devoted to antiquity: Mr. Mackinnon begins with the Middle Ages. Yet its scope is much broader, on the other hand, than that of the eloquent Frenchman, Albrespy, who thirty years ago wrote his *Comment les Peuples deviennent Libres* to demonstrate the identity of liberty with Protestantism; and, as for Dr. Scherger's recent book on *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*, that is only a study of the development of political theory. Dr. Mackinnon's is that, too, but only incidentally: his theme is all liberty—political, social, intellectual, religious—and his is, above all, a history of events. Yet, as one turns its pages, one still has doubts. "The Emancipation of the Italian Communes", "The Third Estate and the States-General", "Religious and Social Revolt in Bohemia", "Communeros and Cortes", "Constitutional and Social Progress in Mediæval England", "The Renascence and the Emancipation of the Intellect", "The Conflict for Religious Liberty in France", "Reformation and Revolution in Scotland"—thrilling topics these, but surely not unfamiliar. This liberty of his, is it any other than that which all liberty-loving historians have made implicitly their theme? He understands it, he says, to be "the free development of man, subject . . . to the limits . . . inseparable from human life" (p. vii), and it is the object of his book to trace its realization by man as a citizen. What, then, have our universal histories, our histories of civilization, been about? Can any treatment less broad than theirs be adequate to the infinite complexity of such a theme?

Yet let us not do Mr. Mackinnon injustice. Vast though his subject

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is, it is something frankly to have recognized liberty as a goal and resolutely to have kept one's eye upon it; it is much to have discerned the unity which lies behind her varying faces, even though, like Mr. Mackinnon, one is content to assume it without discussion. What really interests him, indeed, though his book shows everywhere the influence of recent research as to the growth of political theory, and though he devotes in each volume a chapter expressly to the discussion of this growth, is much less the rise of the conception of liberty than the struggles, however blind, for its achievement. It is to these stirring episodes that his narrative is chiefly devoted, and with a glow of sympathy that lends both cogency and fire to his style. Of fresh research or original speculation there is, for the most part, little enough. Though he has dipped often and fruitfully into the contemporary sources, it has been for color rather than for light. The books to which he is most indebted —they, too, are conscientiously listed at the end of his chapters—are the manuals and monographs familiar to all scholars. From them he has here drawn for us what he doubtless meant to draw—a brilliant and inspiring series of lectures. If this seem less than the promise of his title, it is but fair to note that the first of the present volumes professes to be only an introduction, and that the second grows in learning as it progresses.

Where so much has been done, and well done, it is ungracious to point out defects. In the field of political history Mr. Mackinnon's reading, if by no means exhaustive, has been wisely chosen, and his instinct for facts is singularly sound; it is only his bibliographies which, here as in his earlier books, betray a carelessness strange for an academic writer. If his love for the dramatic leads him still to cling to legends like those of Tell and Winkelried, it is not often from ignorance of what is urged against them. But when he turns to the history of social, of intellectual, of religious liberty, his information is less ample. Even in his chapters on the Reformation, where his vigor is at its best, his reading is often sadly in arrears. How can a modern scholar write of the tolerance of the German reformers without knowing the studies of Nikolaus Paulus? How of Calvin and his opponents without knowing Buisson's *Castellion*? Yet even here Mr. Mackinnon's intuitions serve him well. Taken all in all, his book is both readable and instructive. It may safely be commended to all whose enthusiasm for liberty needs a stimulant.

A Short History of Italy (476–1900). By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 443.)

THIS is one of those books the object of which is to tabulate results under strict avoidance of discussion. If we would be fair to the author, we must recognize that under the necessities inherent in the nature of his task he would have to strive for swiftness, brevity, breadth, and in-

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telligent appreciation, remaining watchfully on the lookout against the details which are the product of special studies, and dexterously skirting all debatable questions. In consequence the amount left out is almost the sum of the minute and special information accumulated since history became a science, while there is offered in compensation that general survey for which the demand is perennial and without which the close investigator would run the risk of degenerating into a mere grub and of losing touch with the essential processes of society.

Mr. Sedgwick's method may be illustrated by opening his book at random. In chapter XI. he deals with the rise of the communes. The long and vivacious debate which has been carried on over their origin is just glanced at, and the whole complex question disposed of with the statement that there they are, products of new social activities, prepared to make war upon and displace the clumsy and wasteful feudal organization which hampers them. The breathless pace of the narrative threatens to become indecorous, and leaves us wondering if it was not possible to make a pause and enlighten us with some of that instructive matter about the timid beginnings of self-government collected by such writers as Ficker, Villari, and Davidsohn. The investiture issue, Barbarossa's championship of beaten feudalism, the invasion of Charles VIII., all the phenomena of fifteen hundred years of evolution are summarized with the same unvarying rapidity. By this method the countless circumstances, the sum of which constitutes life now as then, are reduced to a few ordered formulae, most suggestively and spiritedly presented by the author, but calculated to mislead the unwary reader into the belief that history is divided into definite chapters, each of which, like a problem in geometry, presents an issue solvable by rules of reason and terminating in a triumphant Q. E. D. Of course the author is aware of this fallacious simplicity, and tries to counteract it with a generous selection of contemporary utterances, which envelop each period in its proper atmosphere. Henry IV. and Gregory are permitted to state each his own side of their quarrel, St. Francis appears to us mirrored in the eyes of his contemporaries, Dante is bidden bear witness for Henry VII. and his imperial claims, Machiavelli, Aretino, and Cellini renew the cinque-cento with actual words from their own mouths. These selections are uniformly made with a taste and precision which give proof of wide reading and, above all, of the most delicate appreciation of the subtleties of the ever fascinating Italian race.

So much it was necessary to say if the author's method of swift generalizations, corrected and illustrated with pregnant excerpts from characteristic documents, was to be made intelligible. The attractive feature of this book is that behind the method rises a personality. Mr. Sedgwick's relation to his material is so sympathetic, his spirit so free and masterful, that he never lets his facts, innumerable though they be, reduce him to the despondent tone into which writers of general histories almost invariably drop. He furnishes proof of the great advantage to the historian of being also a literary artist. Without his

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lively gift of phrase—which after all is a gift of insight—the author could not have given us his many concise and luminous statements on a long line of princes, ministers, poets, and artists. It is easy to make an anthology of his epigrams. They abound on every page. S. Maria degli Angeli "covers the Portiuncula of St. Francis, like a bowl turned over a forget-me-not" (p. 306). Frederick II. suggests a Caesarean Byron, Carlo Alberto an Italian Hamlet. Napoleon in Italy "arranged the peninsula as a housekeeper shifts the furniture in an unsatisfactory room" (p. 365). If his figures and comparisons do not always hit the mark, they invariably light a taper which throws a thread of light far into the darkness.

The proportions in a sketch of this sort are a grave embarrassment. One might complain that the nineteenth century has received too little attention, the seventeenth and eighteenth too much. And yet we would not sacrifice a word of the delicate and ironical treatment of Italian decay. The conclusion with its twentieth-century outlook is decidedly meagre. Against these doubts stands the fact that this book securely constructs the essential framework of Italian history. Mere differences of view as to relative emphasis will keep no fair-minded person from doing full justice to the author's grasp, his sober judgment, and his charm of manner.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slawischen Altertumskunde. Von K. RHAMM. Teil I. *Die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen.* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. 1905. Pp. xiv, 853.)

IN this substantial volume the question of the structure of early Teutonic society is approached from the point of view of the agrarian historian. Believing that Anglo-Saxon institutions should not be studied in isolation, the author restates the conclusions of Hanssen, Meitzen, and Maitland, compares them, and discusses at length, in the light of Scandinavian and Frisian evidence, a number of special points. With the object of elucidating the relation of the social classes to the land, he investigates the agricultural arrangements, field measures, plows, and units of landholding of the North German stocks (the Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians). In pursuing this line of inquiry the author is struck by the fact that a large *hufe* of from twenty to thirty hectares is common to all the North Germans, and accordingly discusses in turn the hide, the carucate, the old Danish *bol*, and the Swedish *attungshufe*, together with their respective subdivisions. The size of the plow-team and the weight of the plows, too, are taken up with the conclusion that the heavy plow with the full team of eight oxen was the original implement of all North Germans.

Of especial interest is the section of the book headed "Die Jard und das Breitensystem." In the view of Herr Rhamm too little atten-

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tion has been paid to the system of delimiting the strips in the shot in use among North Germans. Where this system, the *Breitensystem*, prevailed, the width of the strip was the same in every strip in the shot. The length might vary, but the width was the same. According to the *Flächensystem*, the more truly "*deutsches*" system, on the other hand, the aim is to divide the land into pieces of equal area. The width of the strip is of less importance and the shots are small and irregular in size. In the word used to denote the strip of the *Breitensystem*, in Oldenburg, *Jard*, among the Frisians, *Jerde*, we find a clue to the origin of the yard-land. Although of the width of two rods, the strip becomes the yard in England and the foundation of the yard-land. The yard of land as a superficial measure is a half-acre, not a quarter-acre as Maitland holds. The origin of the intermixed holdings in the common fields made up of strips of equal width seems to Rhamm to need particular explanation. To apportion strips of both good and bad land to the several members of a community he regards as the natural method of securing the equality of all shareholders, and this equality, in turn, is proved by the fact that the strips are equal in width. Professor Knapp's criticism (that a conscious policy, aimed at the maintenance of economic equality, is too rationalistic for early Teutons) is answered by the antiquity and wide spread of the *Breitensystem*. "This [latter] fact stands so fixed that it says to all Hildebrand's analogies, all Knapp's deductions, and all Rübel's wild fancies, 'Hands off.'" Thus "the common freeman" finds support.

Throughout the book Scandinavian and English conditions are compared. The development of agrarian relations in the frame of the large *hufe* is to be explained in Scandinavia by co-operative agriculture, while among the Anglo-Saxons the organization of society played a more important part. To illustrate, the hide is to be regarded as the holding of a ceorl who has only public obligations to perform, while the yard-land is the holding of a dependent ceorl and owes its importance to this fact. The influence of the small "German" *Landhufe*, exerted before the conquerors of England left Germany, explains the size of the yard-land.

The effect of the book is not to make one reject Professor Maitland's theories. It rather supplements his line of argument by giving us a wider range of facts to aid in the solution of the problems of early English economic history. It is surprising that no reference is made to Kovalevsky's *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas*.

H. R. Shipman.

Mohammed and the Rise of Islam. By D. S. Margoliouth. [Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Pp. xxvi, 481.)

Although various lives of Mohammed have appeared, and although some of these may be fairly characterized as excellent, yet of late years

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so much progress has been made, not only in Oriental studies pure and simple, but also in such subjects as psychology, ethnology, and comparative religion, subjects the importance of an acquaintance with which for the investigation of various phenomena in Mohammed's career and in the rise of Islam is at once evident, that there was room, in English at least, for a work which should embody as many as possible of the results of these researches. We therefore welcome this volume which Professor Margoliouth has contributed to the "Heroes of the Nations" series.

Personal or doctrinal bias has so often seriously diminished the value of lives of Mohammed, which otherwise would have been excellent, that in considering a new biography of the prophet one naturally regards the attitude of the author as of prime importance. It is a pleasure to be able to say that a perusal of this volume shows that Professor Margoliouth has sincerely tried to give a just and impartial account of the career of his "Hero", and that he has succeeded in his avowed aim of making his book neither an apology nor an indictment. That his views in regard to all matters of detail will meet with universal agreement is not to be expected in a subject of so much difficulty, and one in which there is so much room for honest difference of opinion. It will probably be generally admitted that the author has not over-idealized Mohammed. Some will feel that the author shows insufficient sympathy for the Jews in his story of Mohammed's dealings with them, and it is certain that his slur on their fighting qualities (p. 36) will be resented in some quarters, even though he says (p. 194) that, "Fighting under foreign commanders, and by the side of brave men, the Jews have often proved themselves as good soldiers as other men."

Some idea of our author's treatment of his subject may be gained by a glance at the titles of the chapters, which are, respectively: The Birthplace of the Hero; Early Life of Mohammed; Islam as a Secret Society; Publicity; History of the Meccan Period; The Migration; The Battle of Badr; Progress and a Setback; The Destruction of the Jews; Steps towards the Taking of Meccah; The Taking of Meccah; The Settlement of Arabia; The Last Year.

In addition to a number of illustrations there are a plan of Meccah, a map of Arabia in the seventh century A. D., and one of West Central Arabia in the same period. The combined index and glossary, covering as it does only eight pages and a half, was manifestly not intended to give a complete list of all the passages where a given name or a given topic occurs. In fact some names occurring in the text are not entered in the index.

In a short review it is impossible to go into many details, but attention may be called to one little slip, namely, in the note at the bottom of page 57. Professor Margoliouth is, no doubt, perfectly aware that rain does fall in Egypt; moreover, what Professor Nöldeke actually says in his *Sketches from Eastern History*, chapter II., pp. 30–31, is: "he makes the fertility of Egypt—where rain is almost never seen and never

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missed—depend on rain instead of the inundations of the Nile (xii. 49)."

The book is packed with information, references are very freely given, and from these and from the bibliography (pp. xxiii–xxvi), together with various notices in the preface, the student can get an excellent general idea of the bibliography of the subject. The proof-reading has been carefully done. As remarked above, difference of opinion as to details there is bound to be, but Professor Margoliouth has in this work produced a life of Mohammed which no student can afford to neglect.

J. R. JEWETT.

England under the Normans and Angevins, 1066–1272. By H. W. C. DAVIS, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1905. Pp. xxii, 577.)

THIS, the second in chronological order in Professor Oman's series, is an attractive book, at once well-planned, well-written, and scholarly. The narrative is crisp and clear and the characterizations pointed, and Mr. Davis treats his theme broadly, contriving to say something on practically every aspect of the period, and finding space for two readable chapters on intellectual and social conditions. Indeed the treatment is in some places so broad as to lead to unnecessary and even unhistorical digressions. The author cannot take up the conquest of Ireland without applying the fable of the hare and the tortoise to the Celtic and Teutonic characters, and he considers it part of his business as a historian to decide whether the influence of monasticism and the Crusades was good or bad, after a fashion which recalls the *Würdigungen* once popular in certain German schools of historical philosophy. Such lapses into teleology are, however, brief and infrequent, more common defects being a tendency to subjective judgments and sweeping statements.

The book claims (p. xi) to be "based throughout upon the original authorities", and while we cannot suppose that this is meant to be taken with literal exactness, it is plain that Mr. Davis has read widely in the printed sources and used them to good purpose. The monographic contributions of English and German scholars have also been industriously utilized, but there is a curious neglect of the results of American investigations. Of the various studies of Gross and G. B. Adams he cites only the *Gild Merchant* and *Coroners' Rolls* and Adams's brief note on the commune of London. He has evidently not seen Adams's interpretation of the writ of Henry I. regarding the local courts (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII. 487–490), or Lapsley's *County Palatine of Durham*, or Thatcher's *Studies concerning Adrian IV.* A perusal of Larson's *King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* would have saved him from the statement that the household of the West-Saxon king was a copy of the Carolingian (p. 44). He would also have found evidence in this REVIEW (VIII. 625, note 3) that the

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Norman *bailiae* are older than Henry II., and (X. 440) that Beard's *Justice of the Peace* is not one of the "Harvard Studies" (p. 326). French writers fare better, although Mr. Davis has overlooked three recent books of importance for his subject: Guilhiermoz's *Origine de la Noblesse*, Lot's *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, and Richard's *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*. Baldwin's notable studies of the king's council and Schäfer's new interpretation of the Concordat of Worms probably appeared too late to be utilized.

There are several useful maps and some brief appendixes which deal at somewhat greater length than the text with such topics as the condition of Normandy before the Conquest, the earls of the Norman period, and local justice under the Norman kings. We are glad to see attention here called to the decrees of the council of Lillebonne of 1080, the importance of which has not been sufficiently recognized. The ten-page bibliography serves no useful purpose, as it contains exceedingly little that could not have been found in more adequate and accurate form in Gross's *Sources and Literature*, of whose existence the reader is not even informed. The proof-reading is apt to be careless, particularly in citing the titles of books, as when Ulysses Robert appears in the Welsh disguise of "W. Roberts" (p. 534) and (p. 538) Léopold Delisle is made the editor of an unidentifiable edition of Joinville. Other obvious slips are the placing of the accession of Louis VI. in 1100 (p. 147) and the death of Gregory VII. in the same year as that of the Conqueror (p. 88). Such forms as "Mellent" and "Yprés" (also "Yprès", pp. 170, 171) would be difficult to justify. It is important, if true, that Alexander Neckam lectured on the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle at Paris in 1180 (p. 502), but, unfortunately for our knowledge of an important and obscure matter, the statement is not true, unless Mr. Davis has found some new evidence which he refrains from citing. The date of Neckam's teaching at Paris is quite possible, though it would seem to rest upon the untrustworthy authority of DuBoulay, but nothing has yet been brought forward which shows that the "new Aristotle" reached Paris before the year 1200.

Mr. Davis's account is more comprehensive and the narrative portions of it are less detailed than is the *History of England* from 1066 to 1216 recently published by Professor G. B. Adams, which is restricted to political history by the plan of the series in which it appears; but though he is often fresh and suggestive, he does not give the impression of having pondered so deeply as Professor Adams the fundamental problems of English institutions which the historian of this period must face. Thus Mr. Davis is rather elusive on the results of the Norman Conquest and fails to give any such discussion of the relations of the Conquest to feudalism as seems necessary to a proper understanding of Anglo-Norman history. In sharp contrast to Professor Adams and the general trend of recent investigations, he holds (p. 68) that the policy of Henry I. was essentially a continuation of that of William Rufus and that "the improvements for which Henry is responsible are extremely modest in

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their scope". He treats the reign of Stephen quite briefly, and maintains against Mr. Round, whose conclusions Professor Adams accepts, the view of the anarchy which he has developed more fully in a recent number of the *English Historical Review*. In discussing the Great Charter Mr. Davis does not take account of the views of Professor Adams and Professor Maitland, according to which the most significant feature of the Charter lies in its assertion of the principle that the king is below the law. It would be interesting, did space permit, to follow out in detail the comparison of these two books, but enough has perhaps been said to show that they differ widely in general scope and in the treatment of particular topics and supplement each other in such a way that there is plenty of room for them both.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Chronicles of London. Edited with introduction and notes by CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1905. Pp. xlviii, 368.)

THE chronicles printed in this volume set forth important events of local or national interest arranged under the names of the successive mayors and sheriffs of London. Mr. Kingsford mentions the instance of a Bristol chronicle of this type preserved in the *Kalendar* of Robert Ricart, who was town clerk of Bristol in the time of Edward IV. and who compiled his work at the bidding of the municipal corporation. But there were many mayors' chronicles or calendars in other boroughs besides Bristol to which Mr. Kingsford might have called attention, for example, at Chester, Coventry, Leicester, Plymouth, Shrewsbury, and York. They vary in fullness. Some are mere catalogues of mayors with meagre memoranda of municipal transactions, while others, especially those of London, widen into a narrative of national affairs, and are of considerable value for the history not merely of the city but also of the kingdom. In fact, London is the only English city which produced chronicles comparable with those of continental towns. The oldest are the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, written in Latin in 1274, and the French *Croniques*, compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Mr. Kingsford has made a substantial addition to our knowledge of this branch of historical literature by editing three English chronicles of London from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum. One of them, extending from 1189 to 1432, was written about the year 1435; another covers the period 1415 to 1443, the year in which it was probably written; and the third gives a narrative of events from 1216 to 1509, the early portion compiled about 1440, from which year it was continued by other writers. Down to the end of the reign of Henry IV. they have much matter in common and seem to have been derived from one original source, but from the year 1414 onward they were written contemporaneously with the events which they record. From them Fabyan, Hall, Holinshed, Arnold, Stow, and other later London

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chroniclers derived much of their material, as Mr. Kingsford points out in detail in his introduction. He also indicates the method by which the old chronicles of London reached their present form, and shows that the main sources from which they were derived were private or official letters and civic or public documents. Moreover, he gives a detailed account of the contents of the chronicles which he edits, indicating the additions which they make to our knowledge of English history, especially in the fifteenth century.

The Vitellius Chronicle (1216–1509) is particularly interesting. Its value as one of the best contemporary sources for the study of the reign of Henry VII. has been recognized by Dr. Busch and other authorities. The accounts of the Cornish rising and of Perkin Warbeck are among the fullest that have come down to us. Under the year 1498 (p. 224) there is a passage concerning John Cabot, "a Straunger Venisian", *which furnishes important evidence for the English discoveries in North* America (see pp. 327–330).

Mr. Kingsford deserves much praise for the scholarly work displayed in this volume, which is provided with ample notes, a useful glossary, and a good index.

CHARLES GROSS.

Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung. Von THEODOR LINDNER, Professor an der Universität Halle. Vierter Band. *Der Stillstand des Orients und das Aufsteigen Europas: Die deutsche Reformation.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905. Pp. x, 473.)

WHEN a scholar of forty years' experience in critical investigation writes a *Weltgeschichte* which is avowedly an empirical interpretation of history, the event is not without significance in view of the widespread tendency to regard minute criticism as the only worthy task of the historian. In order to show how the volume under review illustrates the method and principles which underlie the whole work, it is necessary to go back to the preliminary volume, entitled *Geschichtsphilosophie,* for a brief summary of these principles.

History is the account of the development of human groups. This development results from the action of the opposite tendencies of change and persistence, which are never equal, so that there is always some movement. Natural and historical conditions and need are the underlying causes of these tendencies; and in them economic life, intellectual activity, and the state have about equal weight. Need, which is psychic as well as economic, is the force which leads to change. It gives rise to ideas, which are simply thoughts directed to the satisfaction of needs. The idea begins with the individual, not with the group; but it is effective only when taken up by a large number of men. The group is the element which makes for persistence. In it are felt the needs which give rise to the ideas. Great individuals may, with some truth, be said

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to be the product of conditions; they are not indispensable, although they accomplish much when they are present.

Volumes three to five of the history are concerned with the period of transition from medieval to modern times; the fourth carries the narrative from the early fifteenth to about the middle of the sixteenth century. Its first and second books are devoted to political and constitutional history. The fall of the Eastern Empire, the rise of Turkey, and the history of each of the European states are described in turn. The third, fourth, and fifth books take up economic and social history—chiefly that of Germany, humanism and Renaissance in Italy, humanism and intellectual life in Germany, conditions in the church, the German Reformation, and the discoveries.

This arrangement hardly fulfils the promise of the author to show how each nation contributes to the history of the world; for it makes it difficult to trace the interrelations of politics, economics, and intellectual life. The ends of synthesis would be better served by a unified treatment of the whole history of a nation instead of separating its political and economic history from its economic and intellectual. Such a division of material would show more effectively, for instance, that states and politics do not determine great lines of development but rather are determined by them, a principle that is illustrated by the fact that the political conditions of Europe in the fifteenth century gave no promise of her coming conquest of the world, which was due to her civilization (pp. 53, 234).

The treatment of humanism brings out very clearly the author's interpretation of the period of transition. In Italy humanism developed from the thirteenth century on; we find the church less influential, the cities rich, and a general joy in the world (p. 268). These conditions produced humanism and not vice versa. Neither did humanism create the individual; for the individual existed in the Middle Ages as he always has existed. He now merely obtained better means of expressing his individuality; and the classics furnished the best models for doing this (pp. 269–270). Complete enlightenment was not attained before the middle of the seventeenth century. Not the whole people but only the learned were affected for some time (p. 279). There is always danger of assuming too general a penetration of great movements; the most we can say is: "Im ganzen ging die Welt ihren Weg weiter" (p. 235). The period produced great works of art; but the development was not caused by humanism (pp. 283–284). The economic basis of civilization is stated, in one case, in a rather radical and startling fashion. Literature paid better in money and honors than in the Middle Ages, so that there was more incentive to literary effort (p. 274). In Germany the humanistic movement brought literary and historical criticism, and led back to the sources (p. 281). This was its contribution to the Reformation, which it aided but did not create. The discoveries were due to the feeling of need—intellectual as well as economic—for a wider

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knowledge and command of the earth. Earlier discoveries of America were not effective because Europe was not ready for them, *i. e.*, did not feel any need (pp. 407–408).

The preliminary investigations for the history have evidently been thorough, the material has been well thought out, and then set down in a clear, succinct narrative. As the fourth volume comes in the period to which the author has confined his earlier critical investigation, it is likely to prove one of the most useful of the nine. The principles of method and interpretation which are advanced are interesting and suggestive; and scholars may certainly be glad that the author ventured to write "another *Weltgeschichte*".

ASA CURRIER TILTON.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. In four volumes. Volume I. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1906. Pp. xii, 620.)

IT is now nearly twenty years since late in 1887 Mr. Lea gave to the press his great *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* An institution whose history had for centuries been obscured by vituperation and apology had at last found scholarly treatment; and the work met a welcome from the world of scholars such as has greeted no other product of American historical research. The verdict has not been changed by the riper study of the last two decades. Within the last half-dozen years the book has been honored by translation into French, with an introduction by Paul Fredericq, the most fruitful European student of the Inquisition; and at this moment a German edition is in process of publication at the hands of Joseph Hansen, the foremost German scholar in this field of study.

But his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* was only the lesser half of the great task which Mr. Lea had marked out for himself. For the second portion, too, as we learned from the introduction to that work, he had made large collections of material, and through it he hoped "in due time to continue the history to the end". Perhaps the best testimony to the fundamental quality of the American historian's studies is the fact that throughout these twenty years, eager as has been the research in neighboring fields, there has been no serious invasion of that territory which he was understood thus to have reserved for himself. The Belgian Fredericq has indeed been giving us volume after volume on the Inquisition's activity in the Netherlandish domains of the princes who were also the rulers of Spain; the Italian Amabile has illumined its work in their Neapolitan realm; the Spanish-American Medina has added to his history of the Peruvian Inquisition a similar study of the Chilean and in these last days one of the Mexican as well; the German Schäfer has even invaded the Spanish peninsula itself and published a considerable body of the Inquisition's records relative to its

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suppression of Protestantism in the sixteenth century; but none of these, not even the last, has found it wise to forestall that thoroughgoing investigation of the origin and development of the Spanish Inquisition which all have awaited from the pen of Mr. Lea.

It has seldom been the fortune of any scholar so to hold the whole learned world in anxious suspense. The Inquisition of Spain, even more than that of the Middle Ages, has for centuries been a subject of hot dispute. It has been more reviled by its foes and more lauded by its friends. It has touched more interests in more quarters of the globe. As to the share of Church and of State in its creation and in its control, as to the nature and the result of its activities, as to the numbers and the character of its victims, opinion has gone wide asunder. The old books of Limborch and of Llorente, valuable but never adequate, were long out of date. Those of later compilers, like Rule or Hoffmann, dealing with the Spanish Inquisition only as part of a larger theme and with no access to fresh sources, scarcely rose above the level of that flood of hysterical "exposures" which for centuries have darkened knowledge—at best only an offset to the reckless apologists, such as Joseph de Maistre. Even the better documented works of Spanish writers—the *Historia Verdadera* of Rodrigo, the *Procedimientos de la Inquisicion* of Melgares Marin—fell almost as sadly into the class of wholesale apology or that of wholesale abuse. The records of the Inquisition itself were at last open to research, but no scholar had yet grappled with them. What it meant thus to grapple with the unsifted records of four centuries of the proceedings of the busiest of Spanish courts may be guessed by those who know the verbosity and *Schreibseligkeit* of Spanish procedure. The scholar who in 1888 girded himself for the task was already in the sixties. At nearly the age at which our universities are proposing to retire their professors he entered on what to many a less virile worker might well have seemed a life-work. Born in 1825, he had passed his eightieth birthday before its completion freed him from his desk.

But, if with him a world of waiting readers may heave a sigh of glad relief, it is not because Mr. Lea has at any time left us in doubt as to his continued vigor. Chips from his workshop have been constantly in evidence. Already in 1890 his *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* suggested the trend of the results of his study. In 1892 he dared to lay it aside while he brought out an enlarged edition of his *Superstition and Force* and edited for the press that interesting find, his *Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary*. In 1896 he startled us by the publication of a three-volume work, itself a monument of scholarship, on a subject wholly foreign to that on which we thought him busied—his *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*. Returning to the Spanish Inquisition, he offered us in 1901, as another by-product of his research, his monograph on *The Moriscos of Spain*. In 1902 he found time to contribute to the *Cambridge Modern History* its

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fresh and stimulating chapter on "The Eve of the Reformation." All this while, too, there was flowing from his pen a stream of lesser papers on themes as diverse as the interests of his scholarship and the demands upon his public spirit; and yet, before the beginning of 1906, his publishers could set us at rest by the announcement that the completed manuscript of the great *History of the Inquisition of Spain* is in their hands. Surely not even the generation which has witnessed the sustained energy of a Ranke and a Mommsen, and which still beholds a Goldwin Smith writing with all the verve of his youth at eighty-three, has seen a courage and an industry so defiant of age.

Mr. Lea's preface to the work is dated in October of 1905. The first of its four volumes, now before us, appeared in January. A second is due in July, and the third and fourth will follow at intervals of six months. The present volume includes two books—the first on the Inquisition's origin and establishment, the second on its relations with the State. In his opening chapter—"The Castilian Monarchy"—the author depicts in startling colors the political chaos which might well seem to Ferdinand and Isabella to demand the most desperate remedies; but he is far from accepting the view that the aim of the creators of the Inquisition was primarily political. This tendency "to regard the Inquisition as a political engine for the conversion of Spain from a medieval feudal monarchy to one of the modern absolute type" he declares an error (p. 28). "It was impossible that a king so far-seeing and politic as Ferdinand and a queen so pious as Isabella, when reducing to order the chaos which they found in Castile, should neglect the interest of the faith on which, according to medieval belief, all social order was based" (p. 34); and it was for the solution of "burning religious questions which, to sensitive piety, might seem even more urgent than protection to life and property"—to wit, the effective christianization of their Moorish and Jewish subjects—that they resorted to this extraordinary means. Nor will Mr. Lea admit for a moment the apology that "the hatred felt for Jews and Moors and heretics, in the Spain of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries," was due to any "inborn peculiarity of the race—a *cosa de España* which must be accepted as a fact and requires no explanation" (p. 35). On the contrary, he holds that "The influences under which human character can be modified, for good or for evil, are abundantly illustrated in the conversion of the Spaniards from the most tolerant to the most intolerant nation in Europe" (*ibid.*), and it is to the explanation of this profound change that he devotes the remaining chapters of this introductory book, dealing first with the policy of Church and of State toward the Jews and the Moors in Castile before and after their nominal conversion to Christianity and with the establishment of the Inquisition in that kingdom, and then taking up in turn for similar treatment Navarre and the realms which made up "the Crown of Aragon". Even in Castile, as will have been inferred from a passage already quoted, he counts Ferdinand not less

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responsible than Isabella; for, while he believes that vigorous lady to have been a queen in fact as well as in name, he has been led to the conviction that her share in the administration of her kingdom has been greatly exaggerated, and points out (p. 27) that "In the copious royal correspondence with the officials of the Inquisition the name of Isabella rarely appears. To those in Castile as in Aragon Ferdinand mostly writes in the first person singular."

In the second book, that on the Inquisition's relations with the State, the five chapters treat successively its relation with the Crown, its "super-eminence", its privileges and exemptions, the conflicting jurisdictions which vexed it, and the popular hostility from which it always suffered—a hostility which, as Mr. Lea hastens to assure us, was in no wise due to its religious persecution, but only to "its abuse of its privileges in matters wholly apart from its functions as the guardian of the faith" (p. 539). Appended to the volume are useful lists of the inquisitorial tribunals and of the Inquisitors-General, a brief essay on Spanish coinage which will be of service to many besides the students of the Inquisition, and nearly a score of precious documents hitherto unpublished.

In style and treatment the book shows to the full the qualities so long familiar in Mr. Lea's work—the same wealth of detail, the same direct dependence on the sources, the same avoidance of polemics and of all rhetorical amplification. It is everywhere the work of one who still believes that the history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. And if, as usual, he seldom stops to moralize, the moral which he long ago told us no serious historical work should lack is none the less clear in all he shows us of the daily operation of a tribunal of which, as he suggests in his preface, "the real importance is to be sought, not so much in the awful solemnities of the auto de fe, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed on the Spanish intellect—in the resolute conservatism with which it held the nation in the medieval groove and unfitted it for the exercise of rational liberty when the nineteenth century brought in the inevitable Revolution."

GEORGE L. BURR.

Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy: a Biography. By T. F. HENDERSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xii, 353; viii, 355–690.)

MR. HENDERSON has added this contribution to Marian literature because he believes that recent monographs and concise biographies render a work desirable which deals in a somewhat detailed and critical fashion with the main episodes in her entire career. He writes with especial reference to the publications of Fleming, Pollen, Lang, and Hume, and his book is both a narrative biography and a critical study.

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The results of much destructive criticism are stated in positive form without discussion; individual errors of his predecessors are criticized; the crises in Mary's career are plainly stated; and a logical theory of the fundamental causes of her failure is developed with unusual force and rigidity. Some fresh material is produced, but the author's positive contribution to the facts of the subject is comparatively slight, confined mainly to matters of detail in the critical portions of the work.

The value of the book lies chiefly in its clear presentation of general conditions underlying the crises of Mary's career and particularly of the influence of foreign affairs upon their shaping and development. Among the best features are the following: the detailed examination of relations between England and Scotland prior to Mary's departure for France; the unusually good description of the matrimonial negotiations of 1563–1564 and their interrelations; a fine discussion of the interplay of forces leading to Riccio's murder; while the chapter on the early relations of Elizabeth and Mary in Scotland is perhaps the best in the book. Here Father Pollen's monographs have been of marked assistance, especially in regard to the succession and Mary's religious policy. Froude, Fleming, and Lang maintain that fear of assassination was the chief cause of Elizabeth's refusal in 1561 to acknowledge Mary as her successor; Henderson, independently occupying the same ground as Pollen in his interpretation of the celebrated phrase about the "winding-sheet" (I. 195), maintains with apparent justice that the argument is an anachronism. Mr. Henderson also throws new light upon an obscure point in connection with Huntly's overthrow and solves Lang's puzzle (*History of Scotland*, II. 102–103) concerning the supposititious presence of Lord James Stuart at Nancy.

The critical apparatus is defective. References are not always correct and often fail to cover all the points at issue. Erroneous dates appear far too frequently. Twice, at least, Fleming's position is inaccurately stated (I. 172, 256). And Henderson asserts (I. 346) that, among other reasons why Elizabeth could have settled the succession upon Mary without danger, "Mary was illegally debarred from it."

Henderson's fundamental theory as to Mary's failure is diametrically opposed to Hume's theory of ruin caused by personal passion and is essentially the same as Lang's, with personal reasons minimized and with greater rigidity. Mary was the predestined victim of a bitter religious quarrel. The difficulty of her task—in itself all but impossible—was so aggravated by accidental circumstances that a chance was hardly left of escape from signal calamity. "The processes which determined her life toward its tragic close seemed ever to go on with the regularity of clock-work." "Her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure, by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate."

The fate theory, thus stated, requires an affirmative answer to each of four questions. First, was Mary justified in refusing Elizabeth's offer

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of an interview, made through D'Oysell in 1561, on condition that Mary should ratify the treaty of Edinburgh? Lang maintains that she "threw away this admirable chance of settling the feud"; Henderson argues strongly, perhaps convincingly, to the contrary. It is their most important disagreement—although Henderson's unusually favorable view of Maitland diverges widely from Lang's, and his absolute belief in Mary's guilt and the authenticity of the Glasgow Letter leads him to subject Lang's theories to a searching examination in an appendix. Second, was the Darnley marriage inevitable? On this crucial point Henderson and Hume are at variance, the former maintaining that Mary was never in love with Darnley and that passion did not supersede ambition as a motive-force until after Riccio's murder, when political exigencies, combined with an irresistible reaction from hopes irretrievably ruined, threw her into Bothwell's arms. Hume's argument (*The Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 225–226) is the more convincing, and, if true, makes Mary the wilful architect of her own ruin by voluntarily accepting a chance. Third, was Mary's Catholicizing policy after the Chase-About Raid forced upon her? Could Maitland's policy have been successful? If not, would Mary have necessarily lost more than the gratification of her English ambitions? Fourth, was the Bothwell marriage necessitated? Henderson does not prove it, and Hume's argument (*op. cit.*, 7–9), that Mary's ultimate ruin was caused rather by the permanence given Bothwell's power than by her mere complicity in Darnley's murder, is very cogent.

The illustrations in the book are notable for the completeness of their range, rather than for their artistic value. Individually they are excelled in this respect by the illustrations in Lang's *The Mystery of Mary Stuart* and in the Goupil edition of Sir John Skelton's *Mary Stuart*. In at least two instances—Knox, from Beza's *Icones*: and Mary, from the picture in the possession of the Earl of Morton—Henderson has assigned them to wrong originals.

O. H. Richardson.

Scotland and the Union: a History of Scotland from 1695 to 1747. By William Law Mathieson. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1905. Pp. xiii, 387.)

The present volume is designed as "a continuation, on a broader and more comprehensive plan", of Mr. Mathieson's *Politics and Religion*, published in 1902. Strictly speaking, however, it is not a comprehensive history of Scotland during the period covered. The whole treatment centres about the Union, with the main emphasis on its political aspects. Industrial and religious questions are dealt with only so far as they relate to the main theme. Yet, although the author regards the material side of the subject as the more important, and devotes nearly three-quarters of his space to it, his chapters on the church constitute his most novel and interesting contribution.

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This is due to the fact that in tracing the history of the purely political and economic aspects of the Union Mr. Mathieson has had to traverse a path already blazed by Dr. James Mackinnon in his *Union of England and Scotland*, which appeared in 1896. While the present author has used some new material and has apparently worked independently, for he nowhere mentions his predecessor, he does not seem to have superseded the latter in any essential features. Notwithstanding, Mr. Mathieson's pre-eminent merits deserve recognition, his acute and profound reflections, his vivid characterizations, his grasp of material, and his absolute impartiality. While he understands his people and sympathizes with their aspirations, he holds no brief for them. For instance, he recognizes evidences of self-seeking in Paterson that Dr. Mackinnon would not see (pp. 35–36, 56), and is much more reasonable in his discussion of charges of bribery against certain members of the Scotch parliament of 1706 (p. 143). Moreover, he is able to see across the border, and his estimate of King William's attitude toward Scotch affairs is very just.

Although there are many pages of vigorous and vivacious writing, much of the book is very hard reading. Many things are alluded to or taken for granted which call for fuller explanation. For example, a description of the form of government in Scotland at the time of the Union and an account of the principles and aims of the court, country, and Jacobite parties when they first appear would have been welcome. Then, to be more minute, we are not told (p. 277) how Scotch traders expected to evade the tobacco duty by shipping tobacco from England and sending it back again, and (p. 90) the cause of Simon Fraser's flight to France, as stated, is a little misleading. The difficulty of reading is not infrequently due to cumbersome and involved sentences, and, occasionally, the author is a bit careless about the placing of his clauses. On page 48 we are told that members of the crew of a certain vessel "went into the hold to draw brandy with a lighted candle".

The risings of 1715 and 1745 are, of course, sketched only briefly, but the long and complicated negotiations leading to the Union are discussed in detail, new material being introduced to illustrate the arguments for and against the measure. By an analysis of the addresses sent to the Scottish parliament in the autumn of 1706 Mr. Mathieson is inclined to think "that a very large section of the middle and lower classes was decidedly hostile to the Union, and that a more important, if a smaller, section was disposed to hold aloof" (p. 132), and, by an examination of the division lists, he concludes (p. 143) that the parliamentary majority in its favor was drawn "in overwhelming numbers" from the first estate—chiefly nobles under English influence. The apparent paradox that the sentiment of nationality, "which had proved its efficacy as a motive of separation, was to be equally efficacious as an incentive to union" (pp. 155–156) is lucidly explained. His predecessor had already pointed out the importance of the "New Party" or "Squadrone" in

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determining the result. Commercial considerations are adequately considered, and the author confirms, with some additional evidence, Dr. Mackinnon's gloomy picture of the material conditions of the country during the forty years following 1707. This is all the more interesting since Dr. Mackinnon's views on this point have been challenged by at least one competent Scottish historian. In the three chapters on the church Mr. Mathieson is on ground where he is *facile princeps*. Most excellent are the accounts of the rise of latitudinarianism, the strife over clerical appointments, the intrusion of methodistical enthusiasm, the secessions, and all else that vexed the repose of rigid orthodoxy.

The statements of fact to which one might take exception are few and unimportant. In speaking of the final negotiation for the Union as the third (p. 110) the author must leave out of account that under Cromwell, who, if he forced his measure on the Scots, at least went through the form of having commissioners appointed. In stating that Walpole resigned in February, 1742, on "finding that his majority had almost disappeared" (p. 341), he seems to ignore the well-known fact that the Government had been actually defeated in the vote on the Chippenham elections. Again, perhaps it is hardly correct to speak of the "discoveries" of Vasco da Gama (p. 342). Although he opened the trade-route from Portugal to India, Diaz had already rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and the waters over which he sailed thence were already familiar to Mohammedan traders. But after all has been said the book forms a welcome addition to a most important phase of British history.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The Old Colonial System. By GERALD BERKELEY HERTZ, M.A., B.C.L., Lecturer on Constitutional Law. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, No. III.] (Manchester: At the University Press. 1905. Pp. xi, 232.)

THIS very enlightening discussion of "the causes, character and results of Great Britain's old colonial system" is timely; for it supplements in a remarkable way the recent researches of several other writers in the same field. The author's conclusions rest upon a more sustained and critical examination of the "immense storehouses of the writings of the day", particularly the controversial pamphlet literature produced in the British isles, than hitherto has been made. The mercantile imperial theory appears clearly as the primary cause of the separation of the colonies; and in this regard Mr. Hertz's conclusions are in sharp contrast to the views of some recent writers in the United States, who are almost inclined to view that theory as a deterrent rather than a provocative of revolution.

Under the old régime there was no conscious oppression, no deliberate malice. "In actual fact, the old colonial policy was based upon the very sensible ideal of a self-sufficing empire. That ideal was applied with a selfish bias by British ministers" (p. 38); but it was a

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common ideal throughout Christendom; and it was "encouraged by the popularity of mercantilism". Politically and to some extent economically the system had its advantages. Thus, in the hope of making the empire self-sufficing, liberal bounties were offered for colonial products. Though these efforts were in part a failure, "we can only say that the ideal for which such sacrifices were made was in itself great and good" (p. 44). Yet, for this ideal, the slave-trade was deliberately encouraged by the empire. This was due "partly to the British resolve to force the colonies to cultivate tobacco rather than to follow industries calculated to compete with home manufactures" (p. 45).

The first of the twelve chapters into which the book is divided deals with "Great Britain and the Seven Years' War." In this war the old colonial system "reached the height of its power". It was largely a contest for trade; and its mercantile aspects are here appreciated in a most interesting way. In the second chapter "Pitt's Influence as Minister" is considered; and the conclusion is reached that Pitt fully believed in the adequacy of the prevailing colonial theory, and made no attempt to create a form of colonial policy which might have perpetuated the fabric of the expanded empire. The analysis of the "Dialectics on the Question of Taxation" in the fourth chapter shows how naïvely English disputants took "America's economic disabilities as matters of course and irrelevant" (p. 78); and it tends to sustain the thesis that George III. has been too harshly criticized as the cause of the dissolution of the empire. "The American colonies would have tried to sever themselves from Great Britain, had she been a republic instead of a monarchy, and George III. been a cypher instead of a despot" (p. 90).

The seventh chapter is devoted to a strong defense of the case of the "United Empire Loyalists", particularly the merits of the constructive scheme of Galloway; while in the eighth and following chapters the fact is clearly established that the war spirit of the British during the Revolutionary struggle was supported by the traditional colonial theory which had never been abandoned, except so far as the innovation of taxation for revenue was concerned. In fact, the old colonial system in essential principle was maintained in the Canadian provinces until it produced the rebellion of 1837.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900. By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. xi, 376; v, 363.)

THESE volumes bear a suggestive and promising title, and the reader who is acquainted with Mr. Rose's thorough work in the Napoleonic age will open them with large expectations. It will be discovered very quickly however that the ambitious title is misleading, and that, whatever may be the merits of the work, it is not a presentation of the "Development of the European Nations". It might be fairly called

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"The Development of International Relations"; except in the territorial sense there is surprisingly little study of national growth even in the narrow political limits set down for the author by the prevailing English historical proclivities. This is indeed indicated in the preface, when Mr. Rose declares (pp. vi–vii) that he has found it advisable to limit his work to "external events" or "events which had a distinctly formative influence on the development of European States". But enough space is given to purely domestic conditions to show that the author supposes himself to be really presenting national development from this point of view; one is led to the suspicion that there is here a confusion of the nation and the state (in the international sense) that is surprising in a writer of Mr. Rose's experience.

The real scope of the work will be made clear by the tables of contents. Volume I., after a brief introductory reference to earlier events, devotes three chapters (pp. 28–108) to the Franco-German war, two (pp. 109–152) to the founding of the French Republic, one (pp. 153–183) to the German Empire, four (pp. 184–343) to the Balkan Peninsula (mainly from the international point of view), and closes with a sketch of Russian domestic conditions (pp. 344–376). Volume II. opens with a description of the Triple and Dual Alliances (pp. 1–43), and is thereafter devoted to the expansion and rivalries of the great states in Asia and Africa, ending with a brief critical Epilogue (pp. 320–336), mainly on British foreign policy. There are of course many brief scattered references to domestic conditions, but they are all fragmentary, and entirely subsidiary to the presentation of foreign relations. The chapters on Germany and Russia are the only ones that profess to deal with internal development throughout the period, and they are exceedingly meagre and unsatisfying. There is no serious study of the progress of nationality, of the results of the new unity in Germany or in Italy, the two new national organisms whose history would seem to be specially indicated in Mr. Rose's title; absolutely no attention is given to Austro-Hungary, the most interesting and critical region in Europe from the standpoint of national growths. Most writers have hitherto agreed in regarding a heightening of national spirit with respect especially to the elements of race and language as a general and peculiar manifestation in this period; this work neglects the topic almost utterly. Such a topic would properly embrace a study of the democratic development underlying this nationalism and distinguishing it from the nationalism of earlier periods; the obligation lies lightly on Mr. Rose. These are sides of this matter which even the narrowest English view would recognize as properly belonging to "political" history; it is of course not surprising that we find practically nothing in these pages as to industrial or commercial developments; even from the point of view of the place of the new industrial rivalries in the later international relations.

It is then very clear that the author has had a conception of his task different from that which his title naturally suggests. It is a disappointing fact; for a great service might be rendered in the field which

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has here been left unworked—a much greater, it would seem, than through any degree of scrutiny or analysis of the elusive windings of the diplomacy of the last generation.

As to the value of the studies of international relations which make up most of these volumes students will probably differ. The chapters on the causes of the Franco-German war and on the English-Russian rivalry in Near Asia are undoubtedly valuable; the others do not seem particularly fresh or thorough or suggestive (compare, *e. g.*, Driault's *Problèmes Politiques*). What Mr. Rose means by referring to himself as a "pioneer" in this field (preface, p. 1) is not clear; these topics have been frequently presented, and Mr. Rose himself mentions the concluding volume of Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale*, covering more fully precisely the same period. There is doubtless incorporated here some new material and a good deal of hard work; but with respect to the test of pioneer work—value to the later more thorough historian—it does not clearly appear that any serious change is made in the situation. There is no adequate treatment of, indeed almost no reference to, the papacy as an international element. A good deal of space is given to military movements, which are well described; it is however noticeable and perhaps characteristic that there is no effort to examine thoroughly the great military and naval development of the period, even to the extent of clear statements of the principles and operation of the systems or the extent of the forces. The narrative is usually clear and pleasing, with some marks of haste. A happy reference is made to the militaristic development in a concluding sentence with respect to German and Italian conditions: "After struggling for a generation through a wilderness of plots and punishments, those two peoples reached the Promised Land, only to find it a parade ground" (II. 334); we need an occasional flash of this kind to reconcile us to being told of Lord Beaconsfield at the Congress of Berlin that he "disdainfully sipped nectar of delight that rarely comes to the lips even of the gods of diplomacy" (I. 279), or of Boulangism that "its challenging snorts died away in sounds which were finally recognised as convulsive brayings" (II. 30). To haste may be mainly attributed various dubious remarks with regard to Central European development; as when we are told that "most of the political occurrences on the Continent in the years 1815 to 1870—the revolts, revolutions, and wars, that give a special character to the history of the century—resulted directly from the bad or imperfect arrangements of the Congress of Vienna and of the so-called Holy Alliance" (I. 6), or that "The completion of the national movements in Germany and Italy put an end to the period of unrest supervening on the Napoleonic wars" (II. 321). For these statements seem to indicate an inadequate appreciation of the place taken throughout the whole modern period by the problem of Central European political organization. The unrest in this region long antedated Napoleon or the Congress of Vienna; the new factors introduced into the situation after the opening of the French Revolution are less important than the older ones.

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The reviewer is led to these strictures largely by the pretentiousness of this work, and by the suspicion that a good deal of rather journalistic work is here masquerading in the guise of solid historical research. This period cannot at present be a field for solid research or full treatment, in the realm of international relations; and though Mr. Rose's essays have considerable value, they are very far from justifying his title or constituting a history of the period.

VICTOR COFFIN.

A History of Modern England. In five volumes. By HERBERT PAUL. Volume IV. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. vi, 409.)

THE fourth volume of Mr. Paul's work begins with the Andrassy Note of December 30, 1875, regarding the settlement of the Balkan question, and ends with the defeat and resignation of Mr. Gladstone's ministry in June, 1885. It covers, therefore, almost exactly ten years, and it falls naturally into two nearly equal parts: the last five years of Disraeli's ministry, which had begun in 1874 and ended in 1880, and the second administration of Gladstone, from 1880 to 1885. The period thus covered is of the highest interest and importance, and one circumstance gives the present volume unusual value. It is the opportunity presented in the choice of these ten years to contrast not only the two great leaders of English opinion, but to draw a striking parallel between the opposing tendencies which have in turn swayed English political life for a generation. It does not often happen that such an antithesis of leadership and ideas occurs either in politics or in literature, and Mr. Paul, who has selected his decade doubtless with reference to exactly this point, makes the most of it.

The Beaconsfield chapters, which cover rather less than the first half of the book, are three in number: "The Storm in the East", "Lord Beaconsfield's Position", and "The Fruits of Imperialism." The Gladstone chapters correspondingly begin with "The Storm in the West", and continue with "The Policy of Reversal", "The Irish Revolution", "Egypt", "The Soudan", "Lord Spencer's Task", "The Franchise", and "The Fall." Here is a series of strong and stirring events. The Near Eastern question, the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Conference, the annexation of the Transvaal, and the Zulu war, Lord Lytton's Indian administration, and the tragic episodes of the Afghan imbroglio—these alone would give sufficient life and color to any book. Yet beside the events of the next five years even these lose something of their interest. The Irish question with its Nationalists and Land Leaguers, its evictions and boycotts, its dynamiters and its Phœnix Park murders, coercion and obstruction, forms a vivid political romance in itself. And when to this we add Egypt and the Soudan, with Arabi and the Mahdi and the crowning tragedy of Gordon, the South African question with Majuba Hill and its extraordinary consequences, and conclude with that

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decisive step toward democracy, the Franchise Bill of 1884–1885, we have political material which for interest and importance is hard to match in any similar period since the time of Pitt. It is a situation peculiarly suited to Mr. Paul's gifts, and as told by him in the vivid and picturesque style of which he has before given evidence the volume becomes not merely interesting, it is almost exciting. Great characters and events of high dramatic quality crowd its pages, and the author has not allowed their definiteness and individuality to be blurred by a mass of confusing detail. They stand for the most part clear-cut and distinct with a certain tragic simplicity. By judicious omission and emphasis, the author's strong grasp of the subject as a whole, and his sense of dramatic unity he has produced a sort of journalistic prose epic of the British Empire, centring about the two protagonists Beaconsfield and Gladstone. The latter is, of course, the hero, but the stage is crowded with a throng of minor figures from Parnell to the Mahdi, from Mr. Bradlaugh to Abdurrahman Khan. Despite the amount and complexity of the material it has not overpowered the author's ability to draw from it a clear and direct narrative. And the effect is, at least, not lessened by the fact that so many of the questions here presented are still unsettled, and so many of the characters are still active.

Whether it is due to the nature of the period, or its greater congeniality to Mr. Paul's taste and ability, or whether his touch grows firmer with the progress of his work, this volume seems in many ways the best of the four which have thus far appeared. In most forms of historical writing the journalistic style may be out of place. But in such a work as this, dealing with vast and complex issues, not yet wholly understood nor fully evolved, whose secret springs are yet in many cases hidden from us, matters still too near to us to fall in proper perspective, still too vital to our own affairs to be judged abstractly, this gift of rapid if superficial review, clear-cut, vivid, and decisive, seems the ideal medium. In such a field one may well, like a second Festus, admit that Mr. Paul almost persuades us to become a journalist.

If one thing is clearly shown beyond all others, in such books as are at present appearing on modern England, it is that Englishmen are taking great thought over just such issues as are here presented. Behind the question of protection or free trade, behind the dozen other issues which express or befog present political opinion, stands one greater than them all, of which they are but the partial expression. It is what shall be the real basis upon which the future of England is to rest? Public opinion seems to have swung pendulum-like from extreme to extreme for many years, seeking more or less blindly the better part. The fate which overtook the Beaconsfield ministry in 1880 is held up in these pages (p. 137) as the "emphatic condemnation of Imperialism as understood by Lord Beaconsfield, and a judgment for the sober, righteous politics which are neither more nor less than morality enlarged". Against that species of Imperialism the present volume takes decided stand. Yet Mr. Paul is not therefore of necessity to be reckoned a

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Little Englander. He adds the stigma of futility to the other criticisms of Lord Beaconsfield's conduct at Berlin in 1878, but his gravest charge against that statesman is that he did not at that time secure Egypt for England, as, according to Mr. Paul, he might have done without expense or opposition. In the curious chain of circumstance which finally led England into Egypt standing in a "false position", "with full authority, ample power, and no legal right" (p. 256), he enforces again an old dictum that "It is not enough in politics to do the right things. They must be done at the right time and in the right ways." For, though the catastrophe of the Mahdi was at hand, English occupation did not at first lead "to any consequences of a serious and practical kind" (p. 256), and, conceivably, the Gordon incident might well have been avoided. From complicity in that he is inclined, following Mr. Morley closely, to free Mr. Gladstone, but reserves his final verdict on the whole matter. With respect to India and Afghanistan under Lord Lytton's administration he is not so reticent. For that Viceroy he devises fine phrases of polite irony, diversified with such expressions as "the credulity which so often balances scepticism in minds like his" (p. 90), while he correspondingly exalts the school of Lord Lawrence. In regard to the South African question he shows more tolerance, and his judgments of the men on whom lay the burden of Cape affairs from 1878 to 1882 is nowhere extreme.

With respect to that matter which fills the most space in any history of these days, the Irish question, there is no opportunity here to enter into an exhaustive discussion. Its chief significance for our present purpose is that in Mr. Paul's hands it is treated in a spirit which reveals the changing attitude of the English mind toward the problem. It finds here, as elsewhere to-day, a certain sanity and sympathy of treatment to which it has, until recently, been a stranger. Mr. Parnell receives a serious hearing; the Land League and the policy of obstruction, even the more dangerous situation which called for stringent repression, are here accredited, as they should have been then, not to the innate and ineradicable depravity of a lawless and bloodthirsty populace, but to natural exasperation arising from an impossible economic system aggravated rather than soothed by a well-meant and wholly wrong series of legislative acts. Mr. Parnell, never an approachable man, even with his own followers, receives his due at Mr. Paul's hands. With respect to some others, the author's favorable opinion could hardly be surpassed even by Mr. McCarthy himself.

In this connection one question irresistibly presents itself here as in Mr. Morley's biography of Gladstone. During the greater part of the latter's administration, especially after 1880, the Irish question was the nearest and in many ways the greatest with which he had to do. It was the most difficult, the most intricate, the most perplexing of all problems before his government. It was the one on which his party under his leadership was, for a time, completely wrecked. His biographer tells us of the weeks and months he spent in his study at Ha-

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warden poring over blue-books and infinite masses of reports. Yet though he lived close to Liverpool, a few hours from Dublin, and though he travelled widely in France and Germany, in Spain and Italy, even to Greece, he was in Ireland but three weeks in his life and then visited not Ireland proper but a very distinctively English pale. There are many strange things about the relation of the English and especially of Mr. Gladstone to Ireland, but surely this is the strangest. The way above all ways to inform himself on this most vital question, the most obvious, the easiest, was precisely the one he never adopted. Nothing better expresses the earlier English attitude toward the sister island. Nothing better evidences the change in spirit, even since Mr. Gladstone's day, than the tone of such books as this. Ireland seems no longer so much a bogy of blue-books, a seething and chaotic mass of Fenians, boycotters, Invincibles, and dynamiters, somewhat more distant than India, somewhat less known than the Soudan. With the new conception of Irishmen as men not absolutely unlike themselves, of Ireland as a land and a people not wholly beyond the operation of economic laws, and amenable to rational treatment of a situation different from that in England, such as we find in these pages, we may yet come to a real solution of the Irish question. One may only hope that Mr. Paul's jeremiad (p. 235), "in Ireland everything always comes too late", may not prevent that consummation.

For the rest one may regret that amid such simple and forceful English appear unusual words like "perstringed" (p. 330) and "dyslogism", and note in almost perfect proof-reading an apparent error of "disbelieve" for "disbelief" (p. 86). It is not to be expected that such a work as this should be crowded with foot-notes and the machinery of scholarship. But inasmuch as the convenience of the reader has been so obviously consulted by preparing an excellent index to each volume, it might not be out of place to suggest that some general bibliography could be appended to the last volume, which, by referring to books on special fields, would be of great value to those desiring to pursue a given subject further. This is the more necessary in that it is not always easy for the ordinary reader to find such a bibliography in a subject where the works appearing almost from month to month are so numerous and in many cases so important.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

The Life of Froude. By HERBERT PAUL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Pp. ix, 454.)

THE *Life of Froude* by Mr. Herbert Paul is the first attempt at a biography of the historian whose work has probably been the subject of more active controversy than that of any other Englishman of his craft. Mr. Paul was not, so he informs us, personally acquainted with Froude, having met him, apparently, but once and then quite casually. His work lacks therefore all that peculiar quality that comes from intimate knowl-

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edge of the subject of biography. He approaches Mr. Froude as a public man, writer, thinker, and historian, removed from himself by a generation in time and seen by him already in historical perspective.

The book follows the life of Froude chronologically, giving first a brief sketch of his family and the peculiar circumstances of his early youth, his education at school and college, and the remarkable young men with whom he was thrown into intimate association. It goes on then to an account of his life-work, the *History of England*, and makes this the thread on which to hang a chapter on Froude and Freeman. We are then led to follow Froude in his journeys to Ireland, to America, to Australia, and to South Africa, which furnish the text for comments on his views as to English empire. The last chapters deal with his relations to Carlyle and with the Oxford professorship.

Mr. Paul, who has had experience as a biographer of Mr. Gladstone and Matthew Arnold, writes throughout as an apologist. He has a personality to explain as well as a man's work to describe. He seems to feel almost with personal pain the criticism so freely bestowed on Mr. Froude, and is impelled continually to account for this in ways creditable to the victim. Froude's early years are represented as passed under a cloud of religious oppression, with the natural result of driving him in upon himself and turning him against the very influences that were meant to shape him. School was worse than useless, and college, except for the society of men like Newman, Arnold, and Clough, not much better. He drifted into the church, but found himself out of place there and left it, and with it gave up his fellowship and the esteem of those who had so far been his most important guides. Deserted by his family, he was forced to earn his living, tried private tutoring, married a wife with money, and devoted himself henceforth to those historical studies in which he found his best satisfaction. But again his work set him at odds with his world. Criticism, partly violent, but also partly sad, assailed him. He had strong views about Ireland, and when he was invited to lecture in America, he gave expression to these views in such ways that his trip ended prematurely in failure. He was sent as a government agent to South Africa and there succeeded only in setting by the ears the parties he had come to reconcile. He was the intimate and trusted friend of Carlyle, but when he published the papers intrusted to him by his friend, he did it in such fashion as to call down upon himself the bitterest criticism from many sides. Finally, his appointment as Regius Professor of History at Oxford at the age of seventy-four was widely declared to be a shameful illustration of the policy of filling university chairs by political favor.

Obviously, if there was a something irritating and intractable in a man who thus persistently defied all agencies that might have made life easy for him, there was also something of power, and it has been Mr. Paul's task to discover and to emphasize this. To his mind Mr. Froude was actuated throughout by the impulses of a proud, independent nature.

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incapable of meanness or duplicity himself and equally incapable of understanding meanness in others. He appears in these pages as absolutely devoted to the cause of historical truth—a partizan indeed, since with him to see a thing as right was to proclaim it as the only right, unsparing in denunciation of what he felt ought to be denounced and eloquent in praise of what he approved. Mr. Paul is quite aware of Froude's defects in what he continually describes as minor details, but he makes a vigorous plea for that view of historical writing which would overlook an apparent indifference to detail in the far greater importance of the general impression to be produced.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Negro and the Nation: a History of American Slavery and Enfranchisement. By GEORGE S. MERRIAM. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. iv, 436.)

THIS is not a history, but a chronological survey of the literature of the slavery and negro problems. It has no foot-notes, no bibliography, and it bristles with personal judgments. The material used in its preparation is that which has some claim to be called literature in the narrower sense; it does not include the *Congressional Globe*, the works of minor men, nor historical monographs. The author, whose personality blazes from every page, is evidently a Puritan gentleman of the best modern type. In his journey through his country's history he has met and entered into sympathy with every reputable type of Northern opinion; he has met, listened to, and in many cases agreed with the best types of Southern opinion, but has never entered into sympathy with them.

The author's general knowledge of ordinary historical facts seems, on the whole, adequate, but some mistakes have crept in. The "tariff of abominations" was not in force in 1832 (p. 32); Calhoun was not Secretary of War in 1844 (p. 75); the whole discussion of the annexation of Texas is inaccurate (pp. 75–76). For the period after 1850 mistakes are very rare. In his discussion of the early tariff the author is apparently unconscious of the existence of the West. He nowhere brings out the internal economic forces which compelled slavery to spread westward or die; consequently he misses the whole force of the territorial controversy, the conflict between the westward-pushing streams of free and slave labor. He represents the struggle as a strife between a static South and a static North, each receiving occasional accessions of strength as new states were created. Consequently he fails to note the significance of the question of expansion in 1861 and to define the exact point upon which Lincoln elected to fight rather than to compromise. The constitutional questions involved are rather vaguely handled, a modern characteristic. To complete the category of detraction, one closes the book with a feeling akin to that one might expect after a performance of Shakespeare's most famous play in the manner so often suggested to our imagination. The negro is present only as a lay-figure.

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As the economic elements in the struggle are so largely overlooked, and the Constitution, the motif of so many histories, is only casually treated, emphasis is naturally thrown on the conflict of opinion. It is in the discussion of this phase that the value of the book lies. Viewed from this aspect, it divides into two sections, one before and one after 1861, when the Civil War broke out and when the author entered college. Before that date the history of opinion is well-rounded, and, at points, original and interesting; particularly good are the discussions of the beginning of the agitation in North and South (pp. 35–45), the review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (pp. 97–111), and the chapter on Kansas (pp. 112–121). After 1861 the author presents almost solely the Liberal Republican view, but presents it with an intimacy of feeling and knowledge that makes it of value as a source. Instead of character-studies, we have summaries of the opinions, and estimates of the importance and worth, of the principal figures involved. To say that they seem sound is but to infer that they are, to a degree, those held by the reviewer. It is refreshing to see the prominence assigned to William Ellery Channing, Governor Andrew, and Samuel Chapman Armstrong. The author is optimistic as to the future. He believes that the negro has made considerable progress industrially and in domestic morality; he reprobates the recent suffrage laws of the South, but does not favor the enforcement of the penalties of the Fourteenth Amendment, for fear of intensifying race antagonism; he advocates national aid for Southern education; and he dreams of social equality. The style is terse and interesting, and the book has a good index.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Old France in the New World: Quebec in the Seventeenth Century. By JAMES DOUGLAS, LL.D. (Cleveland and London: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1905. Pp. 597.)

QUEBEC in the seventeenth century is indeed the springtime of our history. It marks an age of enterprise and experiment, when Old-World customs and institutions were transplanted to the New World. To trace the progress of the century, to record its trials and its triumphs, to bring out in relief the characters and passions which it developed, and to control the opposing elements through which it struggled require not only a deep knowledge of Quebec and of its literature, but also a touch of the genius of a Parkman. Dr. Douglas has not the skill of a Parkman, neither has he striven to introduce anything new into his work, having been content to derive his facts and his inspiration from sources already in print. But he has this great advantage over many writers. He has passed many of the best years of his life in Quebec, and he who loves Quebec and leaves her remembers her long and well. Although one may regret that the author has not taken advantage of the opportunities open to him for research, the book as it stands is well worthy of careful consideration. It is not a hostilely written work, but the out-

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come of years of study of a subject with which the writer is thoroughly in sympathy.

In the three chapters leading up to the foundation of Quebec in 1608, an imperfect sketch is given of the conditions in Europe and of the voyages of discovery. But in dealing with Quebec after 1608 the author has made good use of the material at his command; and from Champlain, onward, who is presented to us as "a brave, single-hearted sailor and explorer, who had a clear conception of duty and followed his convictions without swerving or wavering" (p. 243), we obtain fine portraits of those heroic men whose labors built up our western civilization. Of later explorers Dr. Douglas says (pp. 386–387): "With the able rulers sent out when France assumed the reins of government, there arrived in Quebec many a notable character whose name still clings to the soil of what is now for Frenchmen a foreign land, though few of those who tread that soil ever identify the scenes around them with the heroes by whom the primeval wilderness was first penetrated and made known. La Salle, with its zinc furnaces; Joliet, with its glowing steel works; De Pere, in Wisconsin; Duluth, all alive with its railroads, docks and huge lake steamers and their consorts; Marquette, now better known as a shipping port for Michigan iron than as the name of one of the most saintly of the saints; all these places immortalize in their names the deeds of men who made these closing years of the seventeenth century memorable in the history of the New World."

Some of the chapters are dull and overburdened with detail; but these are relieved by excellent touches, especially concerning the ecclesiastical organization. The author shows clearly the difference between the French colonial system and the English, and points out how France gave the church almost co-ordinate powers with the state—a system which the French accepted without a murmur, although it would have been resisted by the English colonists. In the story of Quebec there is one figure which overshadows all others—François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency—and it is fitting that the author's narrative should be at its best in those portions devoted to this striking personality. "A noble of France, he stripped himself of all he possessed . . . and to the day of his death lived an austere but human life. . . . While disputing every inch of ground in the interest of his prerogatives, the Bishop [Laval] was founding and organizing a seminary for the education of the priesthood, establishing country parishes and placing in them men of the same simple-hearted, earnest type as those who to-day make the Roman Catholic Church in Canada the brightest example to the world of what the system in its purity can produce" (pp. 481, 418).

For him who has known and loved Quebec there is no farewell. New France is still New France, and the words which the author quotes (p. 514) we can well believe he has made his own: "Her heart, nevertheless, remains in the keeping of her first love. . . . She would not, it is true, exchange her present comfortable estate for those joyous days of youth-

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ful madness, still she sighs when she thinks of them, and even takes pleasure in bemoaning her past sufferings."

This work may be read with profit by those who desire to become intimately acquainted with the brave men whose names stand out boldly in the history of the Western World. The volume is well printed, and since all the pages passed through the hands of Mr. W. D. Le Sueur and Mr. George Iles, the reader need not expect to find any grave errors.

A. G. DOUGHTY.

The Cambridge Press, 1638–1692: a History of the First Printing Press established in English America, together with a Bibliographical List of the Issues of the Press. By ROBERT F. RODEN. [Famous Presses.] (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1905. Pp. 193.)

THIS volume is the second in a series on "Famous Presses." The author assures us that he has "endeavored in this work to deal historically and bibliographically with the history of the first printing press established in English North America." It is but fair to say that his endeavor has met with practical success. While the substance of the volume is dependent upon the work of others to whom from time to time reference is made, the method of presentation dispenses with footnotes. The general reader, if any such can be found for a work which appeals only to a limited circle of bibliophiles, might therefore attribute to the author more credit than he actually deserves, a conclusion which would have been avoided had his pages been fortified with references. This is, however, of little consequence, since the subject appeals only to readers who will fully appreciate this. It by no means detracts from the value of the book that the field has been thoroughly worked by others of whose labor the author has wisely taken advantage. Following the footsteps of Isaiah Thomas and Samuel Foster Haven, the writer who dedicates his work to that astute bibliographer Wilberforce Eames and acknowledges his indebtedness to monographs of that patient worker and acknowledged authority Dr. Samuel A. Green is not likely to go far astray.

The treatment of the subject comprehends a list of the publications of the Cambridge Press; sketches of the several printers whose names are connected with its history; and matters of interest connected with the rare volumes published at this early date, the history being given in many instances of their transmission from purchaser to purchaser, and of the constant appreciation of the market value of these much-sought-after treasures. This method of treatment brings the reader in contact with many collectors of Americana during the last century whose names are as familiar as household words to librarians and students. Here we meet George Brinley, James Hammond Trumbull, John Carter Brown, James Lenox, and the bustling, eager, enthusiastic Henry Stevens, the mention of whose name ever brings before us his many peculiarities and

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the wonderful instinct which led him to secure for American collectors so many of the rare specimens of early American publications.

The reader will enjoy the appreciative way in which these gentlemen and many others with kindred tastes are mentioned, but he will not fail to notice the offensive tone (pp. 27–28) in which judgment is pronounced against three Boston gentlemen who secured by exchange many years ago three of the five "Bay Psalm Books" then on the shelves of the Prince Library. Those who sympathize with the views of the author may perhaps justify him in thus pillorying these names for all time, but there are many persons who prefer to accept contemporary statements that the entire transaction was reasonable and proper. The same readiness to adopt a conclusion is found in the announcement that the name of the original owner of the press was "Joseph" Glover. Students have been much perplexed, heretofore, to determine whether Josse, the name by which he was generally described, was baptismal or a nickname, and if the latter, which of the several names it might represent was the baptismal name of Glover. If he has any new evidence, he does not say so.

The reference to the books of the Cambridge Press as "American incunabula", "incunabula of the Anglo-American Press", "New England incunabula", or even as "native incunabula" might be defended, but those who sympathize with the lexicographers in their efforts to put a time limit on the word incunabula when applied to books will question whether the Bay Psalm Book can be "regarded as one of the most valuable examples of the world's incunabula" (p. 15).

The act "Ffor the prventinge of Irregularities and abuse to the Authoritie of the Country by the printinge presse" as quoted by the author (p. 110) differs from the text of the same act in the *Massachusetts Bay Records*, IV., part II., p. 141. The source of authority is not indicated.

The book has a meagre index, but on the whole is a satisfactory piece of work, the only serious blemish being the unnecessary attack on the Boston collectors which has already been referred to.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 8. *Preliminaries of the Revolution, 1763–1775.* By GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Professor of Institutional History in the University of Nebraska. Volume 9. *The American Revolution, 1776–1783.* By CLAUDE HALSTEAD VAN TYNE, Assistant Professor of American History, University of Michigan. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xviii, 359; xix, 369.)

THESE volumes cover the two decades between the peace of Paris of 1763 and the treaty of 1783. That upon the *Preliminaries of the Revolution* is an essential introduction to the following volume, and their

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relation indicates again the expertness with which the general series has been planned and the interdependence of its items. The first chapter of the *American Revolution* is a careful and exact summary of the developments and conditions which made possible the conflict, and which are elaborated by Professor Howard, particularly in his chapters on the mercantile colonial system, the religious situation in the colonies, and the political conditions at the close of the French War. His volume naturally treats of the Navigation Acts, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts and the controversial results of each, and covers the period of the committees of correspondence, the coercive acts of 1774, the opening of the Continental Congress, and "The Appeal to Arms". "The Case of the Loyalists" is also discussed. The volume by Professor Van Tyne contains seven chapters devoted especially to military history, three chiefly to foreign relations, three to internal relations and politics, and, among the remaining four, one to "The New West." The essential material embraced in the field covered by Professor Van Tyne is possibly more extensive than that in the field covered by Professor Howard, and yet the volume presents a concise, accurate, and readable statement of all the important matters relevant to the subjects discussed. In both volumes there is apparent a careful apportioning of space and a successful adjustment of the relative values of materials. There is in each, also, a lucidity of statement that makes the volumes useful to one not familiar with the technique of the subject, and there is also, at times, a suggestiveness in the form of statement or in the conclusions that makes the volumes important from the point of view of the teacher.

It may be doubted whether either volume adds much to the thoroughly exploited facts in its respective field. Thus, the chapter in the *American Revolution* on state sovereignty, while entertaining and bearing evidences of thoroughness, adds very little to the subject. On the contrary, some portions such as the chapter on "Framing New State Governments" are, to a considerable degree, newly stated, although the material at hand seems not to have been fully used. It may be assumed, however, that these volumes are not intended solely, or even primarily, for the student, and should not be judged from any such point of view, but rather as volumes designed to afford to the studious reader a general and accurate survey of the subjects considered. That service these volumes render in an excellent manner, and allowance must be made for the limitations that necessarily are put upon an author by the requirements of such a purpose. The foot-notes indicate the sources and make possible for the reader some familiarity with the original literature of the subject. If one might with hesitation criticize a small feature, but one which seems characteristic, the realization that the *Preliminaries* is mostly a restatement becomes oppressive when one notes that in a few more than three hundred pages the author uses more than nine hundred sets of quotation-marks! Both volumes employ the ocular method of demonstrating conditions, and to good purpose, as by the four charts in the earlier volume, showing the method of appointment of members of

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the Old Congresses; and, in the later volume, the charted maps showing the accessions to the idea of independence and the character of anti-loyalist legislation.

There is apparent the purpose to keep steadily in view the problems of general national development, and to discuss the various detailed events only as they may affect or explain that development. This object is more readily attained in Professor Howard's volume, and leaves upon the reader the distinct impression that the narrative is simply that of a logical sequence of related events rather than a review of happenings whose relation is merely chronological. There is also noticeable the subjection of isolated events and facts, and insistence upon the importance of tendencies and influences of which the solitary events are only indications or illustrations. With so much detail, this end is not easily attained; but it is secured even in the first chapter of the *Preliminaries*, and persistence in this policy of handling the mass of material makes of the volume a success. Of the reviews of various phases of colonial development which constitute much of this work, none is clearer or more serviceable than that on the problem of an American episcopate and the effect and meaning of the agitation. Of a different type is the chapter on the "Institutional Beginnings of the West", which explains in concise form the various efforts at trans-Allegheny development and their relation to the national growth. The net result of the volume as historical literature is aptly stated by the editor of the series himself, when he says (p. xv) that the author's "investigations bring him to about the same point as those of earlier writers—viz., that war was inevitable because of long antecedent causes tending to independence, and was precipitated by the failure of the home government to understand either the situation or the American people; but that it was not a result of direct and conscious oppression." Such being the case, the general character of the work, as indicated, the particular scope of the volume, and the skill of the author are in large measure all that differentiate it from the existing material upon the subject.

The volume by Professor Van Tyne is similar to the preceding volume in many of its features, although he introduces, possibly, more original opinions. Thus, there is some divergence from what many now consider the orthodox view with respect to the character of the new national government, the author, very naturally and not altogether improperly, reflecting the prevailing views of the times of which he writes. In so far as those views are allowed to shape his own opinion, he will naturally become subject to the criticism of the later writers who have interpreted the meaning of the Revolution in the light of political philosophy and of later developments. The introductory chapter of this volume, describing briefly the conditions prevailing immediately prior to the Revolution and indicating the general currents of influence which were then effective, is an excellent example of terse, exact, and philosophical description. It is to be regretted that the necessity of dealing at some length with the details of military history has prevented a sim-

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ilar treatment by this author of the institutional developments of the decade. As already indicated, the volume covers not simply the military history and the incidental relations to foreign powers, but also the first steps in the formation of new state governments. Upon this topic the material is presented in more readily available and in more logical form than elsewhere. The author recognizes the political importance of the state organizations of the time, and this may in some measure explain his views upon the character of the national government. There is also a suggestive chapter upon the relations between the Whigs and Tories, and a sketch also of "The New West" which supplements the similar chapter in the preceding volume.

Without attempting, as indeed would be out of place, a minute criticism of details upon which the judgment of the author has doubtless been controlled by the exigencies of the series, it may simply be remarked that the two volumes illustrate a high standard of "serial" historical work, bringing as they do to the reader who may be only partially familiar with the groundwork an intelligible and attractive statement of important phases in national development, and giving also to the student of the period an instructive and refreshing review of materials, most of which, to be sure, are commonplace. Each of the volumes is supplemented, as usual, with a critical estimate of the literature of its subject.

H. A. C.

The Writings of Samuel Adams. Collected and edited by HARRY ALONZO CUSHING. Volume II., 1770–1773. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. x, 454.)

THIS volume of the writings of the "great incendiary" covers a period of deep interest and importance, during which he was in a large degree responsible for keeping alive the flame of discontent. His persistent and untiring attention to the grievances of the hour, and the aid received from the tactless obduracy of Hutchinson seem to the reader to have been the chiefest cause for the continuance of ill-feeling. As to this, however, it is difficult to speak with assurance, for it is hard to say what were the discontents of the common people and of the artisans and watermen of Boston with whom Adams had so much influence. Beginning just before the massacre, the volume ends with the prolonged discussion over the power of Parliament between Hutchinson and the Representatives, a discussion in which Hutchinson's arguments were so strong and ill-timed that they were successful in practically committing the American party to the denial of all power in Parliament. Much of the space is taken up with a consideration of the massacre and the evidence of the soldiers' guilt. Here we find not only a revelation of Adams's bitter hostility to the soldiery and to Hutchinson, but interesting evidence of the dangerous irritation caused by the presence of the troops. Many of the letters and public papers deal also with the right

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of the governor under instruction to call the General Court in session at Cambridge, an act which, producing no good for the British cause, gave ample opportunity for denouncing a violation of the charter and for insisting on the limits of the prerogative. Naturally much is also said of the governor's receiving his salary from England; and the keenness with which the logical consequences of this practice are pointed out discloses the power that Adams had in handling a popular question, when with all the appearance of practicality he held continually before the eyes of the people principles of liberty and theories of sound government. The shrewdest of practical politicians, he juggled adroitly with principles and ideals; therein lay the strength of the Revolutionary movement. It must be said that a perusal of these letters impresses one anew with the man's ability and strengthens one's admiration for his ingenuity; but they awaken no chord of sympathy for the man himself. Sympathy is aroused for misguided Hutchinson, a man of dignity and rectitude of purpose, who must have been peculiarly destitute of those qualities, unadmirable though some of them may be, which were giving Adams success and bringing on the Revolution. The qualities in Adams which Hutchinson thought demagogic he himself woefully lacked.

With a few exceptions the letters are of consuming interest; the unities are well observed—one place, a limited time, one body of actors, and one great central question. In fact if we omit the letters about the troops and the massacre, which are in parts wearisome, the rest of the volume deals with one side of the duel between Adams and Hutchinson, between the arch democrat and the reserved man "born and educated among us", who had nothing but contempt for the excesses of the mob at a Boston town-meeting—the duel between the man who stood for liberty and who, without profound book-learning or much outlook on the world, yet saw face to face the fundamental principles of American political life, and on the other hand the man of affairs, the historian, the able administrator, who indeed saw more clearly than the men of England but was out of sympathy with the dominating impulses of his native country.

That Adams had made up his mind in favor of independence and was all through these years pressing on toward that goal nowhere appears in these volumes. Naturally he would not declare such a hope in broad daylight, nor perhaps even in the twilight of the newspaper controversy in which he is continually appearing as "A Chatterer" or "Vindex" or "Candidus"; but if he had this notion anywhere near so firmly rooted in his mind as we have been told, would not sly hints have been thrown out to Arthur Lee or to some other of his congenial correspondents? We find bitterness enough and much plain-speaking in these letters but no hints at the necessity of independence. He appears first to have given something like open utterance to this desire in 1773.

There is no space here to point out the development of Adams's argument and the shifting of his methods to suit the occasion. The difficulty of tracing their development is much increased by the doubt

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of the authorship of some of the papers. Did he, for example, write the striking letter to Shelburne (I. 152–162) and other letters of the notable series of 1768, or were they, as John Adams asserted, in considerable measure written by Otis (*The Works of John Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams, 1850–1856, X. 367)? It is a striking fact that some of the most noteworthy arguments appear through these years only in papers prepared by committees on which Otis served. There is, therefore, at least some internal evidence that Otis prepared the papers and gave them, as he is reported to have said, to Sam Adams, "to *quieu whew* them". And there can be no doubt that the Clerk of the House, with the pen of a ready writer, which was always prepared to "quieu whew" whatever maintained the rights of the colonists, was not allowed to frame without guidance the papers that are here given as his handiwork. I do not mean by this to criticize the appearance of the papers in this volume, but only to point out that Adams's own intellectual course cannot with unwavering assurance be followed in detail through these papers. Toward the end of the volume are given the replies of the House to the governor on the question of Parliamentary power, the papers above referred to in which Hutchinson in full legal panopoly goes forth to meet that champion of popular rights as if he expected to face only a shepherd youth with a sling and pebbles from the brook. The replies were probably written with the pen of Sam Adams; but how much of the real argument he furnished it is hard to say. In some measure they owed their force to the learning of John Adams, from whom of course came the use of the famous Calvin case which he uses so forcibly in his own argument. We may well expect to see in the next volume Sam Adams standing on what, according to Hutchinson, he called "better ground"—better than mere historical statement and technical reasoning —on the ground that "all men have a *natural* right to change a bad constitution."

In one respect this volume is superior to the first. It indicates with care the reason for attributing newspaper letters and other papers to Adams. Little more if anything can be demanded. The notes are numerous and helpful. Possibly it might be well to give in foot-notes occasional excerpts from Hutchinson's letters or from the writings in the press to which Adams replied with a caustic bitterness that makes one wonder whether Hutchinson were not right in saying that to Adams's characteristic signature of "Vindex" ought to be added "Malignus and Invidus", to make his names a little more significant. And yet probably the editor, who has unquestionably shown skill in the preparation of this volume, has been checked by limits of space and other restrictions.

A. C. McLaughlin.

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The Declaration of Independence: its History. By JOHN H. HAZELTON. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1906. Pp. xi, 629.)

THIS elaborate and sumptuously printed monograph is a unique and valuable contribution to the rapidly growing literature of the American Revolution. It deals with the rise and growth of a *conscious* sentiment favoring independence. No attempt is made to trace the evolution of unconscious nationality; of the forces which during the colonial era, and particularly since the French War, were gradually molding the colonists into one social body, an American people, which sooner or later must demand a larger and freer life. For the two years and a half ending with the signing of the Declaration of Independence this work is at once a many-sided source-book and a sustained critical history; but in the main the documents themselves are permitted to tell the tale.

The bibliographical apparatus is very elaborate, and it will be of use to students of other aspects of the Revolutionary struggle. The notes to the text and the appendix alone fill 240 pages in small type. The sources cited are rich and varied, comprising the letters, diaries, and memoirs of prominent men and women, the proceedings of local and provincial bodies, as well as the debates and papers of the Continental Congress. The author has spared no pains to consult the original manuscripts, often found in the possession of private persons. Each important incident in the progress of the drama is illumined by copious extracts from the sayings of the actors and the witnesses. To some extent the relative value of the leading sources is suggested incidentally in the discussion; but it would have been decidedly helpful had the author provided a critical essay on his authorities. For instance, sharper attention ought to be called to the untrustworthiness of John Adams's later recollections; while Wirt's assertions regarding Patrick Henry should never be taken too seriously.

The text (292 pages) is divided into thirteen chapters. Of these, the first three, dealing respectively with the sentiment of independence, in and out of Congress, in 1774, 1775, and 1776, bring the narrative down to the seventh of June in the last-named year. The fourth chapter discusses the "Initial Steps", from the resolution offered by Richard Henry Lee on June 7, 1776, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States", to the appointment of the committee to prepare the Declaration on the eleventh of the same month. Action on Lee's resolution had been postponed to July 1, in order, as Gerry wrote James Warren, "to give the Assemblies of the Middle Colonies an opportunity to take off their restrictions and let their Delegates unite in the measure" (p. 123). The documentary discussion of the events of this interval in the fifth chapter is enlightening. In the next chapter is given a careful account of the "Drafting [of] the Declaration." Chapters follow on "The Last Days", during which the Declaration was completed and adopted, the situation in "New York and

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Pennsylvania", "The Signing", "The Effect of the Declaration and what was thought of it", "The Fireworks of 1776", "The First Anniversary in Philadelphia", and "The Declaration on Parchment, since 1776." No attempt to give a detailed analysis can here be made. A great mass of materials has been critically examined; the text is enriched by many documents reproduced in facsimile; and there is an appendix (pp. 295–359) comprising, besides other illustrations, a parallel reprint of seven different drafts of the Declaration.

Mr. Hazelton has performed creditably a hard task, for which all students of the period will be grateful.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons, Major General in the Continental Army and Chief Judge of the Northwestern Territory, 1737–1789. By CHARLES S. HALL. (Binghamton, N. Y.: Otseningo Publishing Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 601.)

THE subject of this biography played a not inconspicuous part in American history. He was a member of the Connecticut General Assembly for twelve years, 1762–1774, a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, and from October, 1780, a major-general, a director of the Ohio Company, and a judge of the Northwest Territory. Senator Hoar described him as a "soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern War" (p. 587). This declaration that he was the first to suggest a Congress of the colonies, a declaration repeated in this volume, is based on the fact that in March, 1773, he wrote to Samuel Adams proposing "to revive an institution which had formerly a very salutary effect—I mean *an annual meeting of commissioners from the colonies to consult on their general welfare*" (p. 21). This certainly was an early proposal and may have been the first, but a declaration of its undoubted priority one might well hesitate to make. In the noted debate with Hutchinson in January of this year, the Massachusetts House, presumably under the influence of Adams, said that to draw a "line of distinction between the supreme authority of Parliament, and the total independence of the colonies . . . would be an arduous undertaking, and of very great importance to all the other colonies; and therefore, could we conceive of such a line, we should be unwilling to propose it, without their consent in Congress" (*Writings of Samuel Adams*, II. 425). Any one familiar with the ways of the far-seeing Adams would be willing to conjecture that he had already in mind the meeting of delegates from all the colonies.

Parsons had important duties in the North during the Revolution. In connection with his work significant suspicions have arisen. On the publication of the secret journal[1] of Sir Henry Clinton, evidence ap-

[1] *Magazine of American History*, X., XI., XII., October, 1883, to August, 1884, in eleven monthly instalments.

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peared that a man by the name of William Heron, a Connecticut man, was in the employ of Clinton and in consultation with Parsons, or was pretending to be, seeking to bring about Parsons's adherence to the British cause. There is even some evidence that Parsons went further than merely to listen to the proposals. On the basis of these disclosures, charges of treason have been made against him. Winsor for example says: "It is only within a few years . . . that it has been known that Gen. S. H. Parsons, of Connecticut, was at this time acting as a spy for the British general" (*Narrative and Critical History*, VI. 460, note 5; but cf. *ibid.*, VII. 189, note). The author of the volume before us naturally addresses himself to the question of Parsons's loyalty. The nature of the proof cannot be discussed within the limits of this review. Despite the warmth with which Parsons's cause is championed, it can hardly be said that the defense is unsound. Certainly the amount of evidence against the respondent would not justify conviction. Possibly we may still have some lingering suspicion that Parsons went further than uprightness and good judgment allowed, but we are not entitled to more than the vaguest surmise, for the weight of evidence and argument seems to be strongly in favor of Parsons. We have no assurance that Heron himself was not deceiving Clinton, and in fact it seems likely either that, while pretending to be a British spy, he was really devoted to the American cause or was simply trying to get money from the British general.

The author makes no reference to the fact that while Parsons was judge of the Northwest Territory, a correspondent of Lord Dorchester's, who seems to have been an emissary to the western settlements, wrote that he had received "advances" from Parsons (Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives, 1890*, p. 100). Winsor thinks that this is an indication of that "spirit which the secret service books of Sir Henry Clinton have fastened, justly or unjustly, upon a soldier of the Revolution" (*The Westward Movement*, 367). These advances appear on their face to have been concerning commercial relations between the New West and Canada, and one must confess that it was under cover of commercial transactions that compromising intrigues were likely to be conducted. Wilkinson was engaged in very murky "commercial" relations with Spain about the same time, and it is interesting to note that Wilkinson wrote Miró that "The two federal judges and the officials to the northwest of the Ohio, who are in charge of the settlements along the rivers Muskingum and Miami, are suitable persons for the object first named, but as each of these gets a salary of a thousand dollars a year, I should judge two thousand dollars necessary in order to alienate them from the United States" (American Historical Review, IX. 766). It is not impossible that we must include Parsons in the list of Western intriguers, whose minds were preyed upon by hopes of Western independence, or visions of commercial profit, or gleams of Spanish gold, or suggestions of British gratitude.

But in fact the evidence so far brought to light is not enough to

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blacken the memory of any man. Wilkinson's cynical suggestion, which was quite worthy of him, is not much weaker as evidence of Parsons's approachable venality than the statement of the British correspondent above referred to. "There is a General Parsons concerned in the same enterprise", wrote this agent from Detroit, "from whom I have received advances, that I imagine may prove favourable towards a harmonious understanding in point of Commercial interest between Great Britain and these rising settlements. In fact the joint advantage of all parties who mean to be resident upon the Ohio, and to enhance the value of their landed property must induce them to insist upon a free entrance into the Bay of Mexico, and to solicit our trade." This is all that has so far been printed, so far as I know. Must such evidences be taken seriously as an indication of dishonor?

The author has apparently given much labor to the preparation of this volume. But why he could not have taken the trouble to supply it with the necessary accompaniments of a really valuable work is hard to understand. Had it been written for the general reader or so that any one would be tempted to read it, then there would have been some excuse for the method or absence of it. No one, however, that is not seeking thirstily for dry literature is likely to read the book, and it must therefore be judged as intended for reference and the use of scholars. If so, why are all the paraphernalia that the scholar demands left out of the book? Is it not trying to see so much labor expended in the production of a book without foot-notes, without proper indication of the whereabouts of the originals of the letters, with some letters printed in full and others only in part, in a bewildering sort of a way? It would not have required much trouble to make the book in these respects right. When will the industrious learn the elements of the gentle art of book-making? And yet the author's conscientious efforts have brought together a good deal of valuable material for which we must be thankful, and the book is likely to be of use.

A. C. McLaughlin.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Volume 10. *The Confederation and the Constitution.* By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., Director of the Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xix, 348.)

The opinion that the Federal Constitution was wrung from a reluctant people by grinding necessity—a view approved, for example, by Von Holst, and seeking popular sanction in Fiske's *Critical Period*, must finally yield to a truer interpretation of the events through which the forces which formed the "more perfect union" were mobilized. Professor McLaughlin has made a distinct contribution to this ampler and truer knowledge of the real nature and scope of the necessity which urged the American people "deliberately and peaceably, without fraud

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or surprise" (p. 315) to face the task of solving "The Problem of Imperial Organization" and to accomplish it.

An analysis of this problem, which is considered a part of the great question confronting the English statesmen in 1765 and which occupied the attention of a generation, the author designates as the "centre" of his treatment of the course of events in the seven years from 1781 to 1788. With this portion of the volume, the third chapter, he ranks in importance the eleventh and fifteenth chapters, entitled respectively "Proposals to Alter the Articles of Confederation" and "The Law of the Land." Of his 300 pages he devotes eighteen to the discussion of the problem which met the people at the close of the War for Independence.

National readjustment was, from the first, hindered by four things: the demoralizing experiences of a war at once civil and revolutionary; the exile, forced and voluntary, of thousands of excellent citizens; false notions of the relations of freedom and government; the fact, lastly, that the war had been waged to support local governments against a general government. To these obstacles the author might well have added a fifth, the natural reaction, namely— a phenomenon not unknown to-day— which in an individual and in a people follows long-continued, albeit successful effort to attain a high purpose and which, relaxing vigilance and supreme endeavor, permits temporary control to baser forces.

The first form of imperial organization, completed in 1781, was dissimilar to the state constitutions and lacked the essentials of real government, and though the Articles of Confederation tempt one now to smile at their inadequacy to meet the social, political, and industrial needs of the time, "they were in many respects models of what articles of confederation ought to be". The author wisely emphasizes their profound significance in one important particular: with remarkable care they separated the local powers from those of a general character. In reciting the various Articles McLaughlin passes all too lightly over the fourth, which provided interstate citizenship. If, as Bacon asserts, no allied states granting interstate citizenship were in all history ever known to fall apart, the value to the people of the United States of this fourth Article should never be underestimated. The Confederation provided no executive department, but constitutional organs were gradually growing. Administrative failures and experiments were showing the way to a more effective and satisfactory system. With this wise and perfectly true conclusion the opening words of the eleventh chapter offer a sharp contrast: "The year 1786 was . . . one of discouragement. . . . Everywhere there was great cause for despondency: disorder within the states, plots and threatenings on the border, loud laments over commercial distress and heavy taxes, and, worst of all, a reckless disregard of political obligations" (p. 168). Evils there were, many and dire, in what the author calls "this dreary year of 1786" (p. 179), but they were distributed, they wrought within the states, the force of their

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impact on the life of the people as a whole was broken. The following words published in some of the newspapers in the fall of 1786 were not devoid of truth: "The United States are traveling peacefully into order and good government. They know no strife but what arises from collision of opinions and in three years they have advanced further in the road to stability and happiness than most of the nations in Europe have done in many centuries."

The reflective purpose of the people was, despite the evils, forming for definite expression. The author skilfully sketches the many "Proposals to Alter the Articles of Confederation" which emanated from individuals in private letters, in the public prints, and in essays, from Congress, and from various states, and their actual or virtual rejection. McLaughlin in common with most historians of this period does not wholly escape the temptation to share the impatience so evident in the expressions of the wise and earnest statesmen of that day. The proposals for reform were for the most part excellent; in part too they recognized the proper spheres of nationalism and localism. But let us suppose that all these reforms, or the worthiest of them, had been at once accepted—the power to tax, to regulate commerce, to compel state obedience, to institute a judiciary, and the rest—would the resultant government have been real and enduring? To say nothing of the lack of proper division into the three departments, independent and co-ordinate and universally accepted as essential, the people were not ready to commit real power to a legislature of one house. This they felt instinctively. This was enough to give pause until the master-builders of the Union should recognize, not merely that certain powers should be granted, but that the proper constitution of the depository should also be provided. The author of the newspaper address quoted above says: "The single legislature of Congress will become more dangerous from an increase of power than ever. To remedy this, let the supreme federal power be divided like most of the legislatures of our States into two distinct, independent branches."

A notable recognition of the deep and strong and tranquil current of the life of the American people which was flowing through and alongside of turbulent eddies and slack water is given in 1787 by Otto in a letter to Montmorin:

The reflections which I have just had the honor of submitting to you scarcely conform to the vague and exaggerated reports with which almost all the European and American publications are flooded in regard to the situation of the United States. They confound the uncertainty of a people which has not yet chosen its form of stable and permanent government with disorder and internal anarchy; but this uncertainty is only felt abroad or in their political discussions without affecting in any way the tranquillity and industry of the citizens. If one studies ever so little the general prosperity, individual comfort, the well-nigh inconceivable growth of all parts of the republic, one is tempted to believe that of all the countries of the world, this one has taken the longest strides toward opulence and formidable power.

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This view, the contemporary judgment of a foreigner, which in this case should be essentially that of posterity, does not receive the treatment it deserves at McLaughlin's hand. He does however do full justice to the difficulty of finding a method for making certain the power of the central authority to perform the duties bestowed upon it: "Could this be done without destroying the states as political entities or reducing them to mere districts? That was a question that might well have confused the clearest brain of the time; no more delicate and intricate problem in practical politics and statecraft ever confronted a thinking people" (p. 176). And yet when the author comes to treat of "The Great Compromise" in the Federal Convention, he fails to feel the full force of the truth expressed somewhere by Ranke to the effect that "all progress comes through conflict". Nationalism in our continental, "imperial" organization to be enduring must rest on distributive power. An exhaustive exposition of the arguments on both sides in a face-to-face debate was necessary. He misapprehends the real attitude of the authors and defenders of the New Jersey plan. The majority of them were not reactionaries but were nationalists at heart. Their arguments were federalist in the extreme, but they were advocates whose defense of one essential point forced them to overstatement and to an ultimatum. One of the Pinckneys saw this when he said in the debate: "The whole comes to this. . . . Give New Jersey an equal vote, and she will dismiss her scruples, and concur in the National system" (p. 217). This concurrence readily followed when the indestructibility of the states was secured through the equal representation in the Senate. The part taken by the supporters of the New Jersey plan was essential to the solution of the problem. McLaughlin is far from recognizing this when he says that they now "ceased to interfere with the work of the convention" (p. 240). The author's estimate of Paterson, which would make him narrow-minded and ignorant of the condition of the country, fails in appreciation of the man whom in 1784 the states of Massachusetts and New York chose as one of the judges in their dispute over territory, who in 1789 shared next to Ellsworth in the honor of perfecting the act organizing the Federal judiciary, and whom Washington in 1793 appointed a justice of the Supreme Court.

On the other hand, it is a joy to read McLaughlin's fifteenth chapter. Here at last is full recognition by competent authority of the value of the second clause of the sixth article of the Constitution which henceforth was to be the supreme law—"the central clause of the Constitution, because without it the whole system would be unwieldy, if not impracticable. Draw out this particular bolt, and the machinery falls to pieces" (p. 247). Possibly, as McLaughlin points out, the framers did not consciously intend to incorporate into the Constitution the full potentiality embodied in this clause, but they meant the Constitution to be the law of the land. So much at least the authors of the New Jersey plan must have intended when they offered this clause in substance to the

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Convention. Rejected at first by the builders, it became by unanimous acceptance the head of the corner.

The preliminary chapters—"The End of the Revolution" and "The Treaty of Paris"—are the work of the truth-loving and truth-finding historian. Especially commendable is the judgment on Jay's part in the negotiations and on the position of France. The treatment of the subjects of the "Finances", "Commerce", "Diplomacy", "Paper Money", and "Shays's Rebellion" is succinct, clear, and nowhere else in the same space better done; so too, for the most part, the reorganization of the West, though in the evolution of the Northwestern ordinances, as it seems to us, greater credit should be given to Jefferson for his share in the work. Through him came the excellent system of meridian surveys; and too, while his effort to exclude slavery from all the West failed for the time, it should be remembered that he devised the form of words which now form a part of the law of the land in its Thirteenth Amendment.

In narrating the work of the Federal Convention the story is somewhat marred by the spirit of over-anxiety and zeal on behalf of those who would make population the sole basis of an effective, national, representative government. On the side of the large-state men, he says (p. 211), "was strength of argument and national patriotism; on the other, persistence, local pride, and the threat to break up the convention". He virtually denies the existence of some motives which certainly inspired the majority of the delegates from the small states. Again, on the next page, he says: "the small-state party, whose eagerness and obstinacy 'began now', as Madison tells us, 'to produce serious anxiety for the result of the Convention'." The sentence is misleading; the reader would suppose that Madison had imputed *obstinacy* to his opponents. The treatment of the topics "The Constitution before the People" and the adoption "For Better or for Worse" is adequate. His "Critical Essay on Authorities" is ample, just, and discriminating.

The author's references are, so far as compared by the present writer, accurate. More exact dates would be in some of the chapters desirable; for example, the reader would infer that King's antislavery motion was made in 1784. It was offered to Congress in 1785. The excellent style and diction of the author suffer from few lapses, "making sure the observation of the Articles of Union" (p. 176) being one of the six or seven noted. The proof-reading has been of the best. Altogether, save in the points noted above, the volume is quite worthy of recognition as a model history of the time which must ever claim a foremost interest from the lover of our country and from the student of its annals.

AUSTIN SCOTT.

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Immigration and its Effects upon the United States. By PRESCOTT F. HALL, A.B., LL.B. [American Public Problems.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Pp. xiii, 393.)

THE author of this book is the founder and for the last ten years has been the secretary of the Immigration Restriction League. The objects of this league, as stated in its constitution, are "to advocate and work for the further judicious restriction or stricter regulation of immigration . . . and to arouse public opinion to the necessity of a further exclusion of elements undesirable for citizenship or injurious to our national character." Its efforts have been directed largely, if not mainly, to advocating the illiteracy test and excluding would-be immigrants over sixteen years of age who cannot read and write some language.

These facts, which do not appear prominently in the work, indicate the writer's point of view and also the strength and weakness of his product. The book was prepared in consequence of a suggestion from the late Professor Mayo-Smith, and on account of its origin and character it invites comparison with his *Emigration and Immigration*, published sixteen years earlier and still the standard American treatise. It seems to have been designed to supplement rather than to supersede the earlier work. Such a design would explain, not merely the small amount of matter in the historical survey of immigration, but also the comparative neglect of some large topics in which Professor Mayo-Smith was at his best, like the political effects of immigration, the economic gain by immigration, and the question of principle involved. It might explain also the writer's little use of all except American authorities. The work is a temperate and in the main an accurate discussion of an important political and social problem, but has little direct significance to the student of American history.

The author makes a number of statements without adequate indication of his authority or without adequate evidence. The following are examples: "It is estimated that there are approximately 19,000,000 Jews in the world" (p. 49). No reference is given. What is, I believe, the best estimate, that of M. Fournier de Flaix in the fourth volume of the *Bulletin* of the International Statistical Institute, shows 7,056,000 Jews in the world (p. 146), and I have never met any estimate so large as this. Perhaps the figures are a misprint. "Various British authorities have asserted that the amount sent to Ireland from this country each year exceeded the total cost of poor relief in Ireland" (p. 73). How could any British authority have better basis for such a statement than a guess? "Dr. True, of the Department of Agriculture, states that about 2,000,000 men, or 6,000,000 persons in all, gave up farming and went to join the toilers in our cities between 1870 and 1890" (p. 129). We are not told where the statement was made or by what evidence it was supported. "The population of New England was produced out of an immigration of about 20,000 persons who arrived before 1640" (p. 4). What is the evidence that immigration to the New England

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colonies ceased in 1640? "Records of immigration begin with the year 1820" (*ibid.*). A few lines below appears the number from Great Britain in 1815. The discrepancy is due to the fact that British records of emigration to the United States began several years before American federal records of immigration, which commenced in 1820. "Machinery has chiefly diminished the need for skilled labor" (p. 34). "The Jews we have received hitherto have been . . . liable to disease, especially tuberculosis, in the crowded life of our city slums" (p. 51). "Russian and German Jews, who are most prone to become victims of tuberculosis within a short time after landing" (p. 259). "The movement toward the cities, in which the young men played the leading part, leaving the girls at home upon the farms, and diminishing their opportunity for marriage" (p. 111). This is curiously contrary to the facts. The young women have played the leading part in this movement, leaving the men at home upon the farms, and in consequence the opportunity for young women to marry is greater and their marriage rate higher in the country than in the city. "The children of foreign-born are, after a time, reckoned as natives in the censuses" (p. 119). In fact children born in this country of foreign-born parents are always treated by the census as native.

Notwithstanding blemishes of which the foregoing are examples, the book seems to me a valuable summary of the recent history and the present aspects of a great national problem: and with the exception of Mayo-Smith's book the best general discussion of immigration into the United States.

W. F. Willcox.

History of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States of America. By James Hannay, D.C.L. (Toronto: Morang and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 372.)

This volume, purporting to be a history of the War of 1812, ought to be entitled a history of the warfare along the Canadian frontier during 1812–1814, so far does it fall short of being a well-ordered and comprehensive account of the military and naval events of those years. Its proportions are distinctly unsatisfactory. The campaigns about New Orleans and Mobile are dismissed with a single page, since they had "no connection with the defence of Canada" (p. 358). Russian mediation, peace negotiations, and the treaty of peace receive altogether less than two pages. On the other hand, nearly ten per cent. of the space is given up to imaginary sketches of scenes and typical soldiers, portraits of properly forgotten American and British worthies, and reproductions of old prints. The maps and plans, which number seventeen, taken as a whole are among the satisfactory features of the work and furnish acceptable elucidations of the text.

In the matter of purpose, method, and style the volume has little to commend it to the general reader, and nothing at all to cause the serious,

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judicially-minded student to spend any time upon it. It is strikingly like certain histories of the United States which appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the chief aim was to awaken patriotic emotions and pride, without much regard for historical accuracy or for careful and discriminating distinctions such as mark the later accounts of the period of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Here again the purpose is to stimulate Canadian pride by the recital of the part played by Canadians in the War of 1812; the same old swagger, uncritical denunciation, and exaggerated praise appear once more, making it difficult in this day of thorough scholarship on both sides of the St. Lawrence to deal soberly and courteously with the author and his work.

The accounts of battles and skirmishes, especially when Canadians were participants, are burdened with tedious and pedantic details of troops engaged and losses sustained. In the case of naval battles, armament, and crews, the figures and diagrams are taken almost bodily from the *Naval War of 1812* by Theodore Roosevelt, "the president of the United States, who has written a tolerably honest account of the naval operations of the war" (p. 108). Positive errors and carelessness of statement are not infrequent; reiteration of intemperate criticism is common; cheap facetiousness and crude sarcasm abound. A few illustrations, which might easily be multiplied, will suffice: the people of the United States had an "insane hatred of England" (p. 9); the "impressment of British seamen found on board of American vessels" was a cause of friction (p. 9); General Hull was a "ruthless relic of the Revolution" (p. 63); Lossing "had acquired an audacity in falsification not easy to parallel" (p. 159); Sir George Prevost was a veritable black beast for Canada, a caitiff to whose "malign influence" (p. 84), "weakness, or incompetency" "nearly every disaster which the British suffered during the war is to be attributed" (p. 24); he was "an imbecile commander-in-chief" (p. 132), so "incompetent or traitorous" (p. 314) that the author lets slip no opportunity to indulge his detestation of him. The retreats of the Americans were usually disgraceful and cowardly, a thousand put to flight by ten, while by the British now and then "it was deemed prudent to retreat" (p. 172) in the face of greatly superior forces. Captain Warrington of the *Peacock* "satisfied his thirst for murder by the slaying of seven men" (p. 340) of the British cruiser *Nautilus*. For all lack of restraint the author absolves himself from sin, because he sees "no reason why any American of the present day should feel offended at reflections on the actions of men who lived ninety years ago" (p. vii).

The book is devoid of foot-notes and bibliography "because the official sources of our knowledge of the war are so few in number as to render such references unnecessary" (p. vii). Almost the only approach to the use of source-material, aside from numerous anonymous quotations, is in the reprint in full of the important proclamations of General Hull and General Brock, and the Address of the House of As-

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sembly of Upper Canada to the inhabitants of that province. If any three chapters rise above the rest in merit, they are those on "Surrender of Hull's Army", "Operations on the Detroit Frontier", and "Plattsburg". Three others, if a phrase of Dr. Hannay may be borrowed, "can well be left to the reader's contempt" (p. 110): "Causes which led to the War", "War declared by President Madison", and "The Capture of Washington".

KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK.

Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, D.C.L., LL.D., United States Navy. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1905. Two vols., pp. xxii, 423; xix, 456.)

THESE volumes, which conclude Captain Mahan's series of works on "The Influence of Sea Power upon History", are intended for the general reader, as well as the specialist, being written in a popular style with the use of no technical nautical terms which are not explained. The author stands in a class by himself, having created his own model. A skilled historical investigator and a skilled seaman, he has brought the two qualifications together with remarkable results; nor can it be properly said that he has exaggerated the influence of sea power upon history, although he has given it such surprising predominance. Certainly he has not exaggerated it in its relations to the War of 1812, for that war was caused by regulations affecting the navigation of the sea and there the principal fighting occurred.

The work opens with an account of the remote causes of the war, dating from a hundred years before the Revolution, and of the immediate causes, which were two: the impressment of American seamen and the restriction of the carrying-trade. All other grievances were subordinate to these and could have been adjusted; but these were fundamental. The British position was defensible only on the ground of necessity brought about by the struggle with France. The American position, on the other hand, was correct, Jefferson and Madison having put the case on sound principles. The country was, unfortunately, divided, and a strong faction deprecated resistance to Great Britain. Captain Mahan quotes Gouverneur Morris (I. 71) as saying in 1794 that the United States ought to have at least twelve ships of the line, and thinks if even this moderate navy had been in existence there might have been no war; but Jefferson's policy of neglect of the navy made his attitude on paper toward Great Britain ludicrous in her eyes. Captain Mahan does justice to Madison's great ability, but insists that he was a "deskman" (p. 106) who seemed never to understand that deeds must lie back of words. He quotes (*ibid.*) a remark of Pompey: "Will you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords?" Great Britain came to believe that the United States would argue and threaten but never fight. She fought too late and was unprepared.

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As the reviewer thinks, Captain Mahan underestimates the difficulties confronting the administration. It was blameworthy for not having brought the country into a better state of preparedness for the war; but to fight the war efficiently it must have had a united country back of it, and that it did not have. Not only, as Captain Mahan truly says, was the country deficient in national spirit; but he might have added that many of the Federalists were mere colonial Englishmen, who were determined not to fight the mother-country, who obstructed every move the administration made, and who openly exulted in American disasters during the war. To weld the country into a homogeneous people efficiently supporting their government was a task beyond the power of man. Nor is Captain Mahan without injustice in his treatment of the controversy which terminated in the dismissal of Jackson, the British minister. No minister had ever gone so far in insolence, and no self-respecting government could have done other than dismiss him.

Coming to the war itself, Captain Mahan declares that the plan of invading Canada was correct. He defines the true purposes of war very happily (p. 294): "An attachment is issued, so to say, or an injunction laid, according to circumstances; as men in law do to enforce payment of a debt, or abatement of an injury. If, in the attempt to do this, the other nation resists, as it probably will, then fighting ensues; but that fighting is only an incident of war." That Canada did not fall into American hands early in the war was due to the inefficient condition of the American army. Its record was an almost unbroken record of shame, redeemed by the Niagara campaign of 1814 alone, and culminating in the everlasting disgrace of the rout at Bladensburg, which was the natural result of Jefferson's policy of reliance upon citizen soldiery.

From the start the successes of the war were with the navy, and the *Constitution's* victory over the *Guerrière* roused pride in the navy for the first time. Yet all the naval victories showed the inestimable value of preparedness. The *Constitution* was a stronger ship than the *Guerrière* and had a better battery than the *Java* which she beat afterward. The *Hornet* under Lawrence had two-thirds more battery power than the *Peacock* which she destroyed, and Perry won the battle of Lake Erie with a fleet generally superior to the enemy's. Perry's tactics were those which Captain Mahan urges: "L'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!" (pp. 65–66). He contrasts the brilliant results of Perry's audacity with the negative results of Chauncey's caution. Nevertheless, Lawrence should not, he thinks, have taken the *Chesapeake* into the action with the *Shannon* which terminated so disastrously to the American ship, because she was clearly overmatched. The naval victories on Lake Champlain and the military victories at New Orleans are treated as events irrelevant to the objects and outcome of the war.

Captain Mahan's treatment of the war is at once impartial and instructive, and it teaches a lesson which the country ought never to forget. The volumes close with the best account of the negotiations which terminated in the treaty of Ghent which has thus far been published.

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Besides the ordinary and accessible printed sources of material Captain Mahan has used in the preparation of his book the Navy Department manuscripts, the Canadian archives, British Record Office manuscripts and Admiralty Letters, and the Castlereagh manuscripts, the last-named being especially rich in diplomatic history of the last stages of the war. The volumes are well printed, with few errors, and are illustrated with maps for the student to use and with pictures of officers, ships, and battles for ornamentation. The index is carefully made.

GAILLARD HUNT.

Lopez's Expeditions to Cuba, 1850 and 1851. By ANDERSON C. QUISENBERRY. [Filson Club Publications, Number 21.] (Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Morton and Company. 1906. Pp. 172.)

THIS interesting and vivid narrative was originally prepared as the basis of a historical novel, and it would be manifestly unfair to judge it as a piece of critical historical writing, which it does not pretend to be. The most critical comparison and sifting of the sources (widely scattered in pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, and official reports in two languages) are necessary before anything approaching an accurate and impartial history of the events can be written. Vidal Morales, in his excellent work, *Iniciadores y Primeros Martires de la Revolución Cubana* (Havana, 1901), gave the fullest and most accurate account of Lopez's ventures, but he wrote almost entirely from the sources in the Spanish language and from a sympathetic Cuban viewpoint. Some important original documents have since appeared in the *Boletin del Archivo Nacional*, Havana, and there are in the same depository several still unpublished.

Lopez occupies really a secondary place in Mr. Quisenberry's narrative. His heroes are Crittenden, O'Hara, and the other Americans, generally, but the Kentuckians in particular. The real character and aims of the expeditions are either assumed or not discussed. The evidence seems conclusive against the view that Lopez aimed to bring about the annexation of the island. On the other hand, this purpose must be distinctly attributed to all the Americans who either sympathized, aided, or followed the expeditions. Mr. Quisenberry takes the usual view that the natives were as a whole friendly to the Spanish government or too weak and long-suffering to raise the standard of rebellion. But the captain-general's despatches and a good deal of other evidence tend to establish the opposite view regarding the temper of the Cubans. The failure of the expeditions to obtain the co-operation of the native population must be set down rather to their annexationist design, to their large foreign composition, to the fact that they were conducted by an ex-officer of the Spanish army who had never won the confidence of the Cubans, and, not least, to the rash and impracticable manner in which the expeditions were conducted. To say (p. 57) that "there

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appears to be little or no doubt that if circumstances had been such as to admit of his [Lopez's] proceeding according to his original plan, the Cardenas Expedition might have succeeded in establishing the free republic of Cuba" is to assume a good deal. It is difficult to see how the results could have been other than they proved.

There is no evidence whatever to support the statement of outrageous and brutal scenes at the execution of Crittenden and his men (pp. 93–95), which were the gross fabrications of certain newspapers. See, for example, a despatch of the captain-general, Concha, to the minister of state, August 31, 1851, published in the *Boletin del Archivo Nacional,* September–October, 1905, p. 87, where these reports are contemptuously referred to, and the statement made that the execution was conducted with perfect order. The narrative abounds in indiscriminate statements, as, for instance, that "the only constitution it [Cuba] possessed for more than half a century was the Royal Order of May 28, 1825" (p. 26). The full-page likenesses are excellent, but it is to be regretted that Mr. Quisenberry gives no data regarding the authenticity of the Lopez portrait.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

The Brothers' War. By JOHN C. REED. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 456.)

THIS book deals with the causes of the Civil War, and not, as might be supposed, with the war itself. It is written by a Georgian who was a lawyer twenty-five years old when the war began, and who took a soldier's part throughout. He is thus by training and experience excellently fitted to deal with the subject; and, in the reviewer's opinion, he has dealt with it in a very admirable and useful way.

The first six chapters are devoted to the main causes of the strife, and one each to Calhoun, Webster, Toombs, and Davis, the foremost figures, in the author's opinion, in this stage of the struggle. There is an excellent analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a chapter on "The Curse and Blessing of Slavery", an illuminating discussion of the negro question, and a chapter to show that both sides were patriotically and morally right—a paradox very near the truth.

The author rightly assigns as the true cause of the war the nationalization of the North and of the South on the divergent lines laid out by two entirely different social organizations, the one demanding that its free labor system should not be hampered by slavery extension, the other that its system of slave labor should have what it regarded as adequate protection. This was the gist of the whole difficulty. He regards nationalization as having begun before there was any union of the colonies; and he considers that after the union was effected under the Constitution the national idea grew much faster in the North than in the South, and that in the latter it was in the direction, not of a nationalization of the Union, but of the slaveholding states. In this

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Southern movement Calhoun was the great and dominating spirit whom all followed. He was, in the author's view, the foremost economist, constitutionalist, seer, and statesman of the day. In the great debate on the Force Bill in 1833 he gives Calhoun the palm over Webster, though he sets small store by a victory which could have no weight comparable with that of the unconscious nationalistic movements which were the decisive elements. While, however, placing Calhoun as a debater and Toombs as a lawyer before Webster, he has for Webster extreme admiration as an orator and as a national power; regarding as perhaps his greatest accomplishment the outcome of his stand taken, in opposition to Wirt's advice, in the Gibbons *v.* Ogden case of 1824, involving the question of exclusive navigation in the waters of a state—a stand which brought from the Supreme Court an opinion regarding the regulation of commerce by Congress which more than any other thing has helped to unify the country.

The author thinks that Toombs has not had his due, a judgment in which most will agree who have studied Toombs's speeches. For Davis he has admiration as an orator and statesman, but none for his military ability. All military students must agree with this latter judgment. He regards slavery as having been to the South a curse "of magnitude and weight incredible" (p. 342); a particular curse to the white, but in a way a blessing to the negro race in offering it opportunities for improvement such as it never had in Africa. Mr. Reed's analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, while doing full justice to its power and influence, wholly denies its accuracy. As for the negro himself, that problem which the war did not solve, he is not hopeful, though he speaks in no unkindly spirit. He estimates that five per cent. of the colored people are rising, "most of whom are largely white" (p. 407). He recognizes "a world-wide difference" (p. 409) between this small upper class and the numerous lower class of negroes. "Listless, lethargic, careless, without initiative, without opportunity and coercion to make use of it, these multitudes of inveterate have-nothings are in a bottomless gulf of want, immorality, crime, and disease" (p. 411). This is a picture by one who speaks with no bitterness, but far otherwise, of the war and its results; for he is now an enthusiastic unionist and has accepted without reserve the result of the struggle. His book is evidently an earnest endeavor to present the truth; it is a valuable contribution to its subject, in both philosophy and fact, and it deserves a wide circulation.

F. E. Chadwick.

William T. Sherman. By Edward Robins. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1905. Pp. 352.)

This volume belongs to a series of biographies having for their subjects men famous in the period of our Civil War. It is designed for popular reading, a somewhat slight work but at the same time unpreten-

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tious. While by no means a scientific military biography, it yet gives the main facts in the life of Sherman correctly, and in as much detail as the ordinary reader requires. While writing from knowledge obtained from a variety of sources, Mr. Robins makes his principal authority the *Memoirs* of General Sherman himself. This is as it should be. Among the soldier-records from the Civil War time, not one is more interesting or important than the *Memoirs* of Sherman. They are written with extraordinary frankness and candor. While Sherman often has harsh things to say of associates and opponents, he not seldom lets them speak in their own behalf, or admits what may tend to justify them. While resorting sometimes to methods of warfare of questionable propriety, he does not veil his conduct: describing what he did, he is outspoken and manly in his defense.

This quality in Sherman's book is reflected in that of Mr. Robins. He gives us no indiscriminate eulogy of his hero, while illustrating copiously his ability and substantial worth. Mr. John C. Ropes, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1891, at the time of Sherman's death, took him severely to task for the barbarities of his march through Georgia and the Carolinas; and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in his pamphlet of 1905, "Some Phases of the Civil War" (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, XIX. 315–356), criticizes severely the historian J. F. Rhodes for passing over too lightly the "vandalism" (p. 27) of that famous expedition. Mr. Robins, too, gives the facts and is not reticent in his disapproval.

For our part we hold no brief for Sherman. Some of his letters and speeches in 1864–1865 are not pleasant reading, and some of his acts were harsh. The world has judged the "bummer" quite too good-naturedly: so far from being a ludicrous figure, the view too generally accepted, he was a marauding ruffian of an aggravated type; and it is not creditable to his superiors that so little was done to suppress him. But this may be said: the war for the Union became toward the end terribly close and desperate, and it was inevitable that the campaigns should become marked by great excesses. If the South was to be beaten down, severities were necessary; and the measures of Sherman, because they were cruel, were very effective. His famous aphorism, "War is Hell", is entirely true; and it will always happen, so long as the nations submit their quarrels to the arbitrament of the sword, if the fight becomes close and desperate, as was our case, that things will be done to make the blood curdle. It is part of the dreadful business.

Sherman was by no means a solitary instance. Sheridan devastated the Shenandoah Valley so that "a crow flying over it would have to carry his rations", and Grant has been accused of prolonging and aggravating the misery at Andersonville by refusing an exchange of prisoners, his reason being that it would bring at once upon Sherman a great new army in good health and strength after their Northern confinement. The South did no better; the operations of the Confederate cruisers

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were against unarmed and peaceful ships. Morgan's raid in Ohio and Early's march into Pennsylvania were marked by robbery and conflagration. If less stands to the account of the South than to that of the North, it is because the South lacked opportunity and not good-will. Stonewall Jackson favored showing no quarter, as the quick and merciful way. Plenty of soldiers in our time advocate enormities on the plea that the sharp method is the short, humane method; thus warfare will end speedily and with a smaller aggregate of suffering. That Sherman was of this opinion the biography of Mr. Robins makes plain, the fact appearing still more plainly in Sherman's own book.

J. K. Hosmer.

MINOR NOTICES

The Story of Art throughout the Ages: an Illustrated Record. By S. Reinach, member of the Institute of France. From the French by Florence Simmonds. With nearly six hundred illustrations. (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xi, 316.) This remarkable little book is an English translation of M. Reinach's *Apollo* (Paris, Hachette, 1904, pp. xi, 336), and consists of twenty-five lectures delivered in the winter of 1902–1903 at the École du Louvre, upon the historic schools of art. The author is one of the most distinguished scholars of Europe, who possesses apparently inexhaustible knowledge, sound judgment, and discriminating taste. He has here given to the world a brief general history of architecture, sculpture, and painting which so far outstrips its predecessors that it will wait long for a rival. The history of art has here become the fascinating "Story", which, while it lacks nothing of scientific accuracy, is set forth in a full and fitting vocabulary, and is at the same time rich in terse and poignant characterization.

One of the most interesting things to note in a work by such a scholar is the proportion of space given to each school. Here, for instance, one chapter embraces all Greek art before Phidias, whereas another treats only of Phidias and the Parthenon. In the limits of one lecture the author discusses the sculpture as well as the painting of both Siena and Florence, but devotes another exclusively to Michelangelo and Correggio. It is also interesting to note in the lecture on "The Renaissance in France and in Flanders" that the author thinks it worth while to mention the little-known Gerard (Geertgen) of Haarlem, and Jacques Daret, a pupil of Van der Weyden, "known until quite lately as the Master of Mérode, or of Flémalle" (p. 196). In view of the doubts cast upon the value of modern art criticism it is encouraging to find such an authority saying, "The truth about the formation of Raphael's genius [by Timoteo Viti] was discovered by Morelli about 1880; it is the more necessary to insist upon it, because it has not yet become an accepted fact in the teaching of art history." As M. Reinach is familiar with the latest researches of historians, archeologists, and art critics, one finds here up-to-date information on a great variety

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of subjects given in brief compass. Yet the author is not afraid to differ from other scholars, as when he dates the Venus of Milo three centuries earlier than do the majority of archeologists, pronounces the statue "a masterpiece of the school of Phidias", and "not Venus, but the goddess of the sea, Amphitrite, holding a trident in her extended left arm" (p. 48).

The six hundred half-tone reproductions of works of art, small as they are, are still of so excellent a quality that they greatly reinforce the text; but the page, split into double columns, is less restful to the eye than the undivided page of the French original. As a reference book the value of this little volume is enhanced by the very full bibliographies. Taken as a whole, the work is a masterpiece of taste, of judgment, and of condensation, and should be in the library not only of every lover of art, but of every cultivated person; for, as M. Reinach says in closing (p. 297), "This study is one that no civilised man, whatever his profession, should ignore in these days."

GEORGE B. ZUG.

Studies in Roman History. By E. G. Hardy, M.A., D.Litt., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1906, pp. x, 349.) The first ten chapters of the sixteen which make up this book are a reprint of the author's earlier work, *Christianity and the Roman Government*; the other chapters, essays on more or less special subjects in Roman history, were first published as articles in different reviews. It is very much to be regretted that the author saw fit to republish his study on *Christianity and the Roman Government* without revision. When it first appeared it was a painstaking presentation of the results then arrived at regarding the relations between the Christian church and the Roman state in the first two centuries of our era along the lines laid down by Mommsen in 1890 in his article "Der Religionsfrevel nach römischen Recht" (*Historische Zeitschrift*, LXIV. 389–429). The special value of Mommsen's contribution was that it stimulated interest in the subject and brought about the publication of a large number of monographs and special studies on obscure or disputed points which make it possible now to form a fairly accurate idea of the position of the early Christians under the Roman laws.

At its first appearance Hardy's work was not marked by much originality, and hence it is questionable whether any justification can be found for a second edition in which no account has been taken of recent developments. Thus the chapter on "Christianity in Rome under Nero" seems the work of the veriest tyro when read in the light of the minute discussions in France and Italy during the last ten years; while that on "Christianity in its Relation to 'Collegia'" might better have been omitted entirely. The elaborate arguments in support of De Rossi's theory that the Christians escaped persecution at the hands of the Roman authorities by forming "burial-clubs" have no longer any weight, as the theory itself has vanished from the calculations of historians under

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the pointed criticisms of Duchesne. Positive inaccuracies such as the following can scarcely be tolerated even in unrevised editions: "The martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna is proved by the exhaustive arguments of M. Waddington to have belonged to this reign [of Antoninus Pius]" (p. 111). Those elaborate and exhaustive arguments of M. Waddington so skilfully summarized by Lightfoot have been shown by Schmid (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1893, N. F., Band 48, pp. 53–83) to rest on an entirely false basis and to have no historical value, and as such are rejected by all recent authorities on the life of Polycarp (Harnack, Bardenhewer, etc.). Some of the special studies, especially those on the "Movements of the Legions" and on "The Provincial 'Concilia'", which form the concluding portion of the book are decided contributions to the literature of Roman administration.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Dahn's monumental work *Die Könige der Germanen* has been continued with the second *Abteilung* of the ninth volume (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1905, pp. xlvi, 639), which deals with the Bavarians. The volume follows exactly Dahn's now familiar plan. A bibliography of thirty-one pages is prefixed, and the text opens with a brief sketch of the political history and continues with full discussions in minute subdivisions of all sides of the constitutional and legal history of state and church. Of special interest in this state is the absorption of a rather well-developed monarchical power into the Frankish empire, together with the late introduction of the feudal system in an advanced stage of its development, so that the vassal relationship and the benefice were almost of necessity united (p. 146), and the use of these institutions by the early Carolingians to undermine the position of the duke (p. 390).

The first half of the second volume of Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1906, pp. viii, 253) has recently been published. It contains the vocabulary, which has been constructed not merely to give the meanings of the words with illustrative references, but to provide thorough philological discussions, and a complete index to the laws. In a single alphabet are included the Anglo-Saxon, French, and Medieval Latin words of the laws, proper names of persons and places, many separate philological articles like *Accusativ*, *Comparativ*, *Gleitlaut*, *Modernisirung*, and numerous cross-references. The book is an almost ideally perfect tool for the study of the laws, rendering any passage instantly accessible, and giving a complete list of the places where any given term may be found. Institutional discussions, which are so characteristic a feature of the vocabulary in Schmid's *Gesetze*, are not found here. The second part of the volume is to be a legal glossary.

We may be grateful for the publication of Bishop Stubbs's *Lectures on Early English History*, edited by Arthur Hassall (London and New

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York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1906, pp. viii, 391), for biographical reasons, if for no other, for the light which they throw on the author's methods of work. For those who can separate what is obsolete from what is still of value, they are worth much more than this. The lectures contain much that Bishop Stubbs would not have consented to print in 1906, much that will be misleading to those who have not at hand the results of the later investigations, but they contain also many of the suggestive comments which characterize all his work. Proper editing was needed in this case even more than in the *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series* published in 1902, but is entirely lacking, for the bibliographical references of the most general sort inserted at the end of the lectures do not deserve the name. If the date of the delivery of the lectures could have been ascertained and given, as was done in the series of lectures which Bishop Stubbs himself published in 1886, it would have been of much value. The book is divided into twenty-one numbered parts, some, like number III., on "The Laws and Legislation of the Norman Kings", containing a series of lectures. The first eight of these parts, a little more than half the volume, relate to the institutional history of England, discussing in detail many documents—charters, the Dialogus de Scaccario, the Leges Henrici, the Domesday Survey, and others, and furnishing, as Mr. Hassall says in his prefatory note, a commentary on some of the most difficult portions of the *Select Charters*. The other numbers deal largely in comparative institutional history—"Systems of Landholding in Mediæval Europe", "The Early European Constitutions", "The Kings and their Councils in England, France, and Spain", "Early Judicial Systems", etc.

Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. Auf Veranlassung Seiner Durchlaucht des Fürsten Franz von und zu Liechtenstein dargestellt von Hans Uebersberger. Erster Band, 1488–1605. (Vienna and Leipzig, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1906, pp. xvi, 584.) This volume, dealing with the relations between Austria and Russia in the sixteenth century, comes as the first instalment of a work which promises to be monumental. If the succeeding numbers maintain the standard of the one at hand, the author will unquestionably have exclusive possession of this particular field, for his use of material is sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy any within whose province the subject might be included. In treating the question of Austro-Russian relations as a special theme, the author, of course, goes over ground which has already been covered by a series of standard monographs and secondary histories. One has only to recall the works of Schiemann, Pierling, Smirnov, Soloviev, and others to know that the field is not new. But the richness of the sources—Russian, Polish, Austrian, and Venetian—renders quite profitable the task of amplifying the results of previous writers; and this, by a faithful gleaning of the archives, the author has been able to do. In such a compilation the proportion between primary and secondary material necessarily varies in different places.

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Chapter I, for example, is based almost entirely on secondary works; in other chapters the ratio is reversed. The present volume exhausts the period between 1488 and 1605. It brings together a mass of information on the diplomatic negotiations between Austria and Russia over the constantly shifting questions of Poland and the Baltic Provinces.

The limits of a short review make a detailed criticism impossible. But it may not be out of place to make one or two suggestions. The volume, first of all, seems to start too abruptly. Chapter I plunges into all the intricacies of a diplomatic mission without attempting to explain sufficiently the preliminary situation. A short historical introduction would here be a help. In the next place, the bulk of the work is taken up with accounts of diplomatic missions between Moscow and Vienna: there were some forty in all, and they grow confusing. A table at the end, giving for each mission the date, the names of the agents, and the principal subject of negotiation, would be a useful guide in what is at best a very complicated narrative. Frequently, as for instance in a description of Russia after the death of Ivan IV., the author leaves his special field and wanders discursively into general history. It would have been just as well to take such superfluous information for granted. Again, the absence of a bibliography at the end is a distinct lack. And, in connection with the subject of bibliography, it is surprising that, with the exception of Pierling, no reference has been made to any French works, nor to the standard history of Herrmann and Strahl. The use of *Zoe* and *Sophie* as interchangeable names for the consort of Ivan III. would seem to be an error, and the indiscriminate use of *Palaeolog* and *Palaeologus* might have been avoided by choosing either the one form or the other; but, in general, despite the variety of the sources, the terminology of proper names has been kept quite uniform.

C. E. Fryer.

Michel de L'Hospital and His Policy. By A. E. Shaw, M.A. (London, Henry Frowde, 1905, pp. 154.) It is not yet a half-dozen years since another young Englishman, Mr. C. T. Atkinson, published as the Lothian Prize Essay for 1899 a booklet of almost precisely this bulk on precisely this subject. Was the present essay (which nowhere mentions the other, and which says of itself only that it was "originally written as an academical exercise") perhaps an unsuccessful competitor for the same prize? If so, one can but commend the wisdom of the judges. Mr. Shaw writes, indeed, somewhat sparklingly, in that epigrammatic, allusive style just now so much in vogue among the younger historical writers of England; but his brilliance is often at the cost of clearness and sometimes at that of accuracy. His foot-notes, which show considerable acquaintance with the sources, abound in petty carelessnesses and are now and then unintelligible. In distribution of space his book differs from Mr. Atkinson's mainly in the larger attention given to the early career of his hero. For the life of L'Hospital prior to his chancellorship both books alike rest heavily on the researches of Dupré-Lasale;

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but Mr. Shaw's, which is dedicated to that scholar, has had the advantage of being able to use his second volume (1555–1560), which appeared in 1899, and thanks him besides for "kindly personal encouragement". So eulogistic is Mr. Shaw's temper that he can tolerate no censure of the great chancellor, however qualified; and the abuse of Michelet with which his book closes is all but peevish.

G. L. B.

With the appearance of the sixteenth volume, Mrs. Paget Toynbee's elaborate edition of the *Letters of Horace Walpole* is finished (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1903–1905). The editor's indefatigable industry appears to have continued unabated to the end, though she laments her inability to prepare the indexes with her own hand. These indexes, occupying nearly the whole of the last volume, are as minute and full as one can demand. Of the last instalment (volumes XIII.–XVI.) the first three cover the years 1783–1797. Walpole seems to have found himself old before he had reached three score and ten, and though he lived to be four score, it was to endure labor and sorrow and to suffer not infrequently the exquisite torture of gout. "However, Madam," he wrote in 1784, "I have one great blessing, there is drowsiness in all the square hollows of the red-hot bars of the gridiron on which I lie" (XIII. 232–233). He continued his correspondence to the end, and these later volumes, though not so full of interest as the earlier ones, have many entertaining and brilliant passages. He did not lose his faculty for sharp and epigrammatic sayings. Madame de Genlis, commenting on the Oxford plan of education, remarked "sensibly" that it was probably "adapted to our constitution". "I could have told her", wrote Walpole, "that it is directly repugnant to our constitution, and that nothing is taught there but drunkenness and prerogative, or, in their language, Church and King" (XIII. 297–298). A very few of the letters are here printed for the first time, but, as in the preceding volumes, they do little save attest the diligence of the editor. We have in these sixteen volumes letters written by a litterateur, critic, and man of the world during sixty-five years. There is surprisingly little change in tone, temper, sentiment, or outlook upon the world between the early years of George II. and the last decade of the century. For two generations, despite the gout, time ambled withal.

A. C. McL.

Mémoires du Comte Valentin Esterhazy. Avec une Introduction et des Notes, par Ernest Daudet. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1905, pp. lii, 360.) As writer for a dozen journals, as author of a dozen novels, and as pamphleteer on a dozen issues that have stirred France during the last five decades, one might think M. Ernest Daudet had done his share of tasks, but he is rounding out his career with the production of a series of volumes dealing with the period of the Revolution, especially in its royalist episodes and phases. It was while working on his earlier

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volumes on the history of the emigration that he obtained access to the unpublished memoirs of Comte Valentin Esterhazy, which were used forty years ago by Feuillet de Conches in his *Louis XVI., Marie-Antoinette et Madame Élisabeth*. M. Daudet has now published these memoirs as a whole, with a valuable introduction and some notes. The best things in the text have already been made known in the works of Feuillet de Conches and of Daudet himself. The real contribution made by M. Daudet is in his introduction, which summarizes the known facts concerning the life of the author of the memoirs, and contains a few letters selected from the manuscript correspondence of the Count. The editor announces that this correspondence is voluminous, consisting chiefly of letters of the Count to his wife, which are full of gossip and fact for the important score of years from 1784 to 1804. Judging from the thirty pages of extracts from this correspondence, the reader wonders why M. Daudet chose to reproduce the *Mémoires* in extenso instead of giving a larger selection from the correspondence, which he himself confesses is the more valuable.

Comte Valentin Esterhazy de Galantha et de Frakno was born October 22, 1740, of a branch of the family which had left Hungary because of its connection with the Rákóczy insurrections, and had entered the French military service. Naturally destined for the army, he began his active service in 1757, as captain in the Régiment de Bercheny, and saw service throughout the Seven Years' War, winning his commission as colonel. In 1764 he became the proprietor of a regiment of his own name, which he retained until the outbreak of the Revolution. He became *maréchal de camp* in 1781, and was stationed at Valenciennes during the opening months of the Revolution. Sent to Vienna in connection with the marriage negotiations of Louis and Marie Antoinette, he from that time forth commanded their favor and confidence to a high degree. He emigrated to England in September, 1790, but was summoned to Coblenz in the following June by the Comte d'Artois, who sent him to St. Petersburg in September, 1791, as the royalist representative. He enjoyed marked favor under Catherine, and later under the Tsar Paul, although the latter declined to recognize him as the Bourbon ambassador. He died on July 23, 1805, at the Chateau of Grodek in Volhynia, which had been bestowed upon him by the Russian government. On March 23, 1784, he married the only daughter of the Comte d'Hallweil—the "chère Fanny" to whom he wrote almost daily during the frequent periods of their separation.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

L'Expansion des Boers au XIXe *Siècle*. Par Henri Dehérain. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1905, pp. 433.) The expansion of the Boers, as covered by M. Dehérain, begins with the first conquest of Cape Colony by the English in 1795, and ends with the establishment of the Orange Free State, on the English evacuation of that province in February, 1854. With the later history of the Boer republics M. Dehérain is not here con-

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cerned, but it is easy to see that his story has been written with the recent war continually in mind; and while he has kept strictly to the task he set himself of writing a history, and "rien de plus", his endeavor has been to write a history which shall make comprehensible the final struggle between Boers and Britons, by bringing out the features in Boer character and in the environment of the South African farmers which brought them into antagonism with the British colonists and the imperial government. It is an advantage to have a history of the Boers from the pen of a Frenchman. M. Dehérain holds the balance even between the progressive Anglo-Saxon with his unstable Colonial Office behind him, and the retrograde Boer with his persistent and obstinate love of liberty and his determination to be untrammelled in his dealings with the colored races. The picture M. Dehérain paints of the Boers of the first half of the last century is not attractive. Descended from Dutchmen, often of good family and liberal education, they had relapsed almost into barbarism; and one of the difficulties M. Dehérain encountered in the writing of his history was the absence of all records written by Boers, in the form of either government archives, correspondence, or memoirs. In fact, in the twenties and thirties writing had become almost a lost art. Reading was taught in the Boer families by wandering tutors from Europe who spent a few weeks in the farmers' families—long enough that some of the younger members of the family at least might learn to read the one book of the nation, the Bible; but when agreements between English and Boers were drawn up in documentary form, the Boers frequently signed with a mark. While hampered by this lack of internal documents, M. Dehérain has made an exhaustive use of the records of early travellers, hunters, missionaries, and explorers; of English state papers and Parliamentary debates; of reports of commissioners and of correspondence of the local authorities with the Colonial Office. While he has made a careful study of maps and charts, and has illustrated his work with eight maps, a better knowledge of the topography of South Africa would have enabled him to avoid several errors. False Bay and Table Bay can scarcely be accounted first-class harbors, and Natal has only in very limited areas the well-wooded appearance with which he credits the country. M. Dehérain gives an excellent critical bibliography of the literature concerning South Africa. For fairness of presentation, conciseness of form, and completeness within the limits of his period, there is at present no history of the Boers that can rank with this new work; and it is to be hoped that an English translation of the *Expansion des Boers* will soon find a publisher.

A. G. Porritt.

Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España por Bernal Díaz del Castillo, según el códice autógrafo. La publica Genaro García. (Mexico, Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1904, two vols., pp. xcvi, 506; 560.) Señor Lic. Genaro García, who set the his-

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torical students of Mexico by the ears five years ago when he published his *Carácter de la Conquista Española*, which was a sort of history of the conquest of Mexico as told by the conquistadors, has now had the good fortune to become the editor of the first edition of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia Verdadera* which presents, in a form available for general use, the text of that work as the author wrote it. It has long been known that the original manuscript of this work had survived to our day, but until the government of Guatemala distributed a limited number of copies of a photographic facsimile of the manuscript, no one had apparently guessed that the text which was first published in 1632 by Father Alonso Remón of the Order of Mercy, and repeatedly reprinted, misinterpreted most of the author's statements of fact and opinion.

In preparing for publication his text of the *Historia Verdadera*, which is printed from the facsimile of the author's manuscript, Señor García was obliged, by the magnitude of the task, to forego the plan of recording each instance where emendations and permutations were introduced by Father Remón. The passages cited are quite sufficient, however, to discredit absolutely every statement in the earlier printed text which speaks well for the editor's religious brethren or which suggests a glossing of evil deeds by the Europeans. Bernal Díaz, writing in his old age, knew well that what Cortés and his fellow-conquistadors accomplished was a great work, thoroughly executed. He knew also that in the execution many things happened that were rough and brutal and often unnecessary. He told the story as he had lived it, asking no favors and seeking no enemies. It was, even in the amended and extenuated text of Father Remón, one of the great documents in the annals of human achievement. As its author wrote it, the *Historia Verdadera* is almost unmatched as a story of war and conquest and colonization, told frankly and easily by a man from the ranks.

There is little about the execution of this new edition which calls for comment. There are many signs of careful attention to copying and proof-reading, chiefly the surprisingly small number of letters or words which suggest a desire to compare them with the original manuscript. Señor García, despite the fact that he seems to be unaware that the form of abbreviation fairly accurately represented in type by "Jesu xpto" is perhaps the most usual method of writing the name of Christ in ordinary manuscripts of the renaissance times, has done his work competently as well as conscientiously. His edition, which is issued with the assistance of the Mexican government, may fairly expect to remain for a long time the standard text of Bernal Díaz's narrative.

G. P. W.

Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524–1624. With notes by George Parker Winship of the John Carter Brown Library. (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1905, pp. 292.) In preparing this painstaking reprint of narratives Mr. Winship has

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done a much-needed service for which as the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, which is exceedingly rich in original copies of these narratives, he possessed exceptional facilities. The reprints in the volume are as follows: Giovanni da Verrazano, 1524; David Ingram, 1568; Bartholomew Gosnold, 1602; Martin Pring, 1603; Samuel de Champlain, 1605; George Waymouth, 1605; George Popham and Ralegh Gilbert, 1607; Henry Hudson, 1609; Samuel Argall, 1610; John Smith, 1614; Thomas Dermer, 1619; and Christopher Levett, 1624. The term "sailor" is applicable to only a part of the narratives. Neither John Brereton, who wrote the account of Gosnold's voyage, nor James Rosier, who wrote the narrative of Waymouth's voyage, was in any sense of the word a sailor.

The reason for including David Ingram's "Relacon" is not clear. Ingram with two companions made his way from Mexico up the Mississippi valley to the "mayne Sea uppon the northe syde of Ameryca", which Mr. Winship doubtless correctly identifies with one of the "Great Lakes" (p. 30). Proceeding eastward, they "came to the head of a Ryvar called Gugida which is 60 leagues weste from Cape Britton", which Mr. Winship identifies with the St. John. While there Ingram heard of the arrival of a French trader on the coast, made his way thither, and was taken to France. Mr. Winship believes that this French vessel was found "somewhere on the eastern Maine coast", and thus makes a place for Ingram's "Relacon" in his collection. But there is no evidence that this vessel was on the Maine coast; and if there were, the narrative could in no way be regarded as of sufficient importance to be included in a volume entitled *Sailors Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast*. It gives no account of any such voyage.

All the other narratives, however, are relations of voyages to or along the New England coast, and afford interesting and valuable information concerning the country, its products, and inhabitants. We miss the narrative of the voyage of the Mayflower as found in the ninth and tenth chapters of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. This was a voyage of far more importance than that of the Popham colony which is included.

Mr. Winship's brief introductions to the narratives give the reader the more important facts concerning the writers and the texts. The marginal notes are not numerous, but they indicate with sufficient clearness the points of contact with the coast and furnish abundant evidence of a careful study of the literature pertaining to these narratives. The publishers have given to the volume a most attractive dress. The edition is limited to four hundred and forty numbered copies.

HENRY S. BURRAGE.

History of the Maumee River Basin from the Earliest Account to its Organization into Counties. By Charles Elihu Slocum. (Indianapolis and Toledo, Bowen and Slocum, 1905, pp. viii, 638, xx.) The region

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around Detroit, to the south and west, was so long the centre of interest in Western history that this subject has a strong attractiveness. It is unfortunate that the author, who has given it years of painstaking research and study, has interpreted his title so broadly. Matters of geology, topography, biology, ethnology, local history, and digressions on general American history not essential to the narrative, together with topics of merely local and purely personal and passing interest, find too large a place in an otherwise creditable undertaking. The book touches few controverted questions in history, and is free from the more egregious errors. The author still clings to the very doubtful view that La Salle passed up the Maumee to a discovery of the Ohio and Mississippi in the fall of 1669. Granting that the expedition may have taken place, the date is almost certainly a year too early. Errors are noted in several instances: "the War of the Spanish Succession" is a slip for the War of the Austrian Succession (p. 90); "the war of the British succession" for the Seven Years' War (p. 107, note 1). The unwarranted statement is made that Massachusetts did not include Detroit and vicinity in the cession of 1785 (p. 153). Minor errors in dates of canal construction occur (pp. 602, 610). The most valuable portions of the book are the accounts of the Indian wars and the military campaigns of Generals Wayne and Harrison, but here the amount of positive contribution to our knowledge is small. Some very interesting notes on the efforts of the legislature of Michigan Territory to secure the ultimate ownership of the railroads constructed within its borders are included (pp. 619–620). The book will be of undoubted interest to the general reader, but the student will regret the frequent disregard for due proportion in the treatment of subjects, and at times the partizan, uncritical narrative, unnecessarily retarded by lengthy quotations in the body of the text from the sources, diaries, military reports, and Indian treaties, all of which are valuable, but are readily accessible in every moderate college library.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Barnett A. Elzas, M.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1905, pp. 352.) This book contains a detailed and painstaking study of the history of the Jews in the colony and state of South Carolina, and a great deal of patient research through scores of volumes of newspapers and directories and manuscript records alone made its publication possible. As late as 1826, South Carolina probably contained a larger Jewish population than any other in the Union, and in no other state, relatively, have Jews been so active in public life during many decades as in South Carolina. The story begins with a specific welcome to Jews and other dissenters, in John Locke's famous "Constitution" (1669); and Dr. Elzas rightly emphasizes the fact that South Carolina was unique among the British colonies in never at any time imposing any civil or religious disability upon the Jew. Dr. Elzas

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descants upon the achievements of the Jewish pioneer settler, who is traced back to 1695; presents an interesting sketch of Francis Salvador (here following Mr. Hühner's interesting investigation), as also of Moses Lindo; and does full justice to the Jews who fought for their country during the struggle for liberty and in later wars. With the assistance of congregational records, newspapers, and directories, he has constructed very valuable "directories" of Jewish residents in 1800–1824, and 1824–1860, with numerous citations and references concerning those deserving more than mere enumeration. A sympathetic and valuable account of "The Reformed Society of Israelites", launched about 1824 under Isaac Harby's lead, and the earliest authenticated "reform movement" among the Jews in America, is furnished, as well as congregational histories, orthodox and heterodox, of later days.

Dr. Elzas has sought to avoid all dangers of distortion of facts by confining his attention to contemporary public "records", eschewing "traditions" and comments, with the result that his chapters are frequently not over-readable. It requires no argument, however, to show that this is not a sufficiently comprehensive method of treating social history. Traditions must be sifted and corrected, but should not be merely thrust aside and ignored. Even Dr. Elzas's diligence cannot reproduce from the records a complete contemporary history of Jewish activities in South Carolina. Moreover, there is reason to believe that he did not secure access to various valuable collections of old-time family records and papers.

Dr. Elzas has departed from his principle of avoiding comments in two classes of cases: whenever there was any opportunity to try to "explode a tradition", and whenever there was any occasion to refer to the writings of any other student who has preceded him in the fields of American Jewish history. He has materially added to our knowledge of South Carolina Jewish history, and he might safely have permitted historical students to discover this fact for themselves, without attempting to emphasize it by belittling all his predecessors. The book is attractively printed and bound; and it is to be hoped that the fourteen years of wide-ranged, painstaking historical investigations by members of the American Jewish Historical Society will, before long, lead to the publication of similar studies for the other sections of the country.

MAX J. KOHLER.

Phases of Royal Government in New York, 1691–1719. By Charles Worthen Spencer, Professor of History, Colgate University. (Columbus, Ohio, Fred J. Heer, 1905, pp. 156.) This is a Columbia doctor's dissertation dealing with some phases of the constitutional history of New York from the close of the Leislerian revolution to the end of Governor Hunter's administration. The main theme is the conflict between the prerogative element in the provincial constitution, represented by the governor and council, and the popular element, represented by the Assembly. In this constitutional discussion financial issues

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are rightly given the central place; for in them "the province groped to political self-consciousness and to an activity in which the issues were of a higher order than those of factional hatred or personal intrigue" (p. 97). The prerogative party stood for the theory that public money should be raised by the Assembly, but "expended under the direction of the governor and council" (*ibid.*). The "country party", on the other hand, at first distracted by the violent factional contests which arose from the Leislerian revolution, gradually settled down to the policy of controlling expenditure in detail and placing the public funds in the charge of an elective provincial treasurer. In the closing chapter, which deals with Hunter's administration, the writer points out how the governor, weakened in prestige by the maladministration of the Cornbury régime, entered upon a long controversy with the Assembly, which ended in a formal "compromise". In fact, however, the substantial advantage of this settlement remained with the Assembly, notwithstanding Governor Hunter's diplomacy and his personal popularity. An interesting feature of this contest was Governor Hunter's suggestion that the true solution of the financial problem might be the raising of a colonial revenue by act of Parliament.

This monograph impresses one as painstaking and accurate; and it contains some fresh and interesting matter, as, for instance, in the discussion of the colonial speakership and of legislative procedure. It has, however, the usual faults of the academic dissertation. Minor matters are treated with unnecessary diffuseness, much of the material is ill-digested, and in general the writer needs to cultivate greater simplicity and directness of style. Manuscript material has been drawn upon to some extent, but the main outlines of the story are probably familiar to previous students of the printed sources. The table of contents is very short and there is no index.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Dr. Ernst Moll, in the fifth volume of "Zürcher Beiträge zur Rechtswissenschaft", has presented a study of the nature of the federal state in America, as the subject was viewed by American statesmen before 1850—*Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von ihrer Unabhängigkeit bis zum Kompromiss von 1850* (Zürich, Schulthess, 1905, pp. 209). There are opportunities for differences of opinion concerning the interpretation of the words and sentiments discussed. The fundamental propositions, for example, of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions are not understood, for it cannot truthfully be said that "Nur im Ziel unterscheidet sich die Nullifikations- und Sezessionstheorie Jefferson's von der Nullifikations- und Sezessionstheorie Calhoun's. Ihre Grundlage und ihre Substanz ist die gleiche" (p. 127). A study of the constitutional theory of the Revolution would have relieved the writer from such a fundamental error. But there is much good work in the book, and it is certainly curious that one of the very first scientific efforts to trace the history of the federal idea

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should have come from Europe. This monograph is unencumbered by visible prejudice or extraneous political impediments. It is a clean study of theory and as such is of real value. It is noteworthy that the first chapter is "Das Verhältnis zwischen England und den amerikanischen Kolonien"; but this phase of the federal problem is scantily treated and without appreciation of its significance. That it should be treated at all in this connection, however, marks intelligent thinking.

A. C. McL.

Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama. By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, Agents, 1905, pp. xxiii, 815.) Professor Fleming's book may be regarded as one of the tangible results of the increasing interest in history in the South and Southwest, which has become so noticeable within the last decade and which has manifested itself in Alabama and Mississippi by the formation of state departments of archives and history. Believing that a knowledge of the civilization that was swept away by the war is essential to a clear understanding of the events of the Reconstruction period, the author gives a full account of ante-bellum society and institutions. Much attention is also paid to economic, social, and religious conditions during the struggle and in the decade following. Numerous maps illustrate the distribution of population, the political complexion of various sections of the state at different periods, the routes of the invading armies, and the industrial development during the war. Especially interesting is the account of the growth of manufacturing in the state from 1861 to 1865, a natural result of the cutting off of former sources of supply by the blockading fleet and the Union armies. This industrial activity of the South during the war is just beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

Throughout the volume one notes the strong contrast between the Black Belt and the hill counties, the homes respectively of the large planter and the non-slaveholder. These two sections differed in 1861 as to the expediency of immediate secession, and during the war the hill districts did not support the Confederate cause as loyally as did the rest of the state. After the conflict these sections were politically opposed until the Reconstruction policy of Congress drove them to unite against negro domination.

One can find nothing in the work to justify the claim, sometimes put forward by apologists for Reconstruction, that its evils were largely due to the sulkiness of the Southern whites, who would take no part in public affairs and thus allowed the state governments to fall entirely into the hands of aliens and negroes. Numerous instances are given, showing that any attempt of the ex-Confederate to take a hand in affairs was regarded as an effort to "undo Reconstruction".

The work gives evidence of careful and painstaking research through an enormous mass of materials. The voluminous testimony taken before

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Congressional committees has been carefully digested and summarized in a few pages, and the author has taken the pains to look up the history of each of the witnesses summoned before the subcommittee for Alabama, discovering that only four of these were citizens of the state. Professor Fleming has not approached his task with a merely local or antiquarian point of view, but aims to give each local event its true setting in the history of the whole period. Reconstruction is treated as something more than a political manœuvre, as a process affecting churches, schools, trades, and professions as well as politics and civil administration. The author's sympathies are decidedly with the South, but the work is free from bitterness or prejudice, and is on the whole as impartial an account as one can expect from any writer on this subject.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS.

The Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina. By John Porter Hollis, Ph.D., Acting Professor of History and Economics in Southwestern University, Texas. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 129.) The introductory chapter analyzes with some detail the situation in the state in the spring of 1865. The people of South Carolina, having resisted desperately to the last extremity, having seen their property destroyed by a vindictive enemy, having disdained to ask for peace, subdued but unconquered, submitted to the inevitable. After Governor Magrath was arrested forthwith "resolutions were adopted at various public meetings in the State, to the effect that it was the duty of all citizens to refrain from every act of hostility and to promote the return of friendly feeling toward the United States"; and President Johnson was memorialized "to appoint at once a representative citizen [to be] provisional governor" (p. 29). There should be other chapters like this. The next three chapters touch only the high places down to July, 1868, when the state was restored to full federal relations with a voting population of 133,000, sixty-three per cent. colored. Against this the Democrats remonstrated, saying: "We do not mean to threaten resistance by arms, but the white people of our State will never quietly submit to negro rule. By every peaceful means left us, we will keep up this contest until we have regained the heritage of political control handed down to us by an honored ancestry" (p. 105).

Most historians now make a virtue of showing that the Reconstruction policy of the Republicans was conceived in radicalism and born in vindictiveness. Some see clearly that it would have required great confidence in the people of the South and remarkable patience to have turned over to them the rehabilitation of their state governments before the "results of the war" had been permanently secured. But there is still another point of view from which it is the function of Garner and Fleming and Hollis and others to help us see the situation. While "'Tis true 'tis pity; pity 'tis 'tis true", that such human nature as most people are born with could not help doing just about what the Southern

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people did do to adjust themselves to the conditions produced by the war and Reconstruction.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

TEXT-BOOKS

A Text-Book in the History of Education. By PAUL MONROE, Ph.D., Professor in the History of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xxiii, 772.)

THE most helpful, most interesting, and withal most suggestive division of the study of education for him who proposes to be a teacher is the history of the evolution of educational ideals and practices. It is a perspective, not a mere atmosphere, that the teacher needs, and this he never will get by mere experience (which teaches few persons anything), or by mere psychology, or indeed by any mere methodology that narrows his vision and tends to make him dependent, local, and provincial. One reason that the history of education has not been more popular as a subject for study is that too many who are going into the work of teaching want something which they can immediately apply or something which is difficult to understand. That which they can immediately apply is "methods"; that which is difficult to understand but which impresses them as necessary is psychology, or rather, the language of psychology. Another reason is the meagre provision of suitable text-books on the subject. The quality is by no means equal to the number.

When Professor Laurie's *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education* appeared, it was hailed with delight, and rightly. Mr. Monroe did us great service when he prepared his *Source Book* (1901), covering the same period as Laurie, and now in this book he has put us still more in his debt, because this is really his *opus majus*, of which his other books published or to be published are illustrations and explanations.

In the scope of the work it is worthy of remark that there is no mention of the Hebrews or the Egyptians. The Chinese certainly furnish an excellent opportunity to point a moral, but to give this nation a whole chapter and to ignore entirely the consideration of a nation that has influenced our lives as much as has the Hebrew nation deserves explanation. The general method of presentation seems to be to find out first upon what philosophic basis the system of education was formed and then to discuss the particular men and their contributions to social, political, and educational progress. This is a reaction against the extreme biographical style of some of the earlier books on this subject, but in many instances I think the author presupposes too much knowledge on the part of his readers, who may have to re-read the first portion of a chapter in the light of the second. In other words, the reader is told what general conclusions the author has arrived at, and reads the rest of the chapter to verify these from evidence submitted. The historical is too often sacrificed to the philosophical.

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The treatment of Greek education is on the whole satisfactory, but as in most histories the real significance of Spartan education in its relation to the life of the people, its magnificent opportunities, and its equally magnificent failure might have been made more telling. Müller's *Dorians* ought to find a place on the reference list, and certainly the absence of Jowett's *Plato* and Newman's *Aristotle* is very conspicuous. In his treatment of rhetorical schools at Rome Mr. Monroe merely hints at what is really a very interesting and important fact that has a special lesson for us, namely, that while the education of these schools under the Republic was a definitely practical one, it had only a disciplinary value under the Empire; for social life and political opportunity had entirely changed, but the curriculum had remained fixed. The rise and influence of universities is traced in a very interesting manner, but one looks in vain for any account of Oxford and Cambridge. Similarly it seems that Roger Bacon might deserve more than mere mention. Among selected references for the chapter on the Reformation Arthur F. Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation, 1546–1548* (Westminster, 1896), should have a place, as clearly many of the facts in the chapter are taken from it and it is referred to in "Topics for Further Investigation" (p. 441). This is an exceptionally good book and ought to be in the library of every department of education.

The treatment of modern education is well done, although one misses certain phases of the movement that no doubt the author would have treated had space allowed. A book to have definite value must be after all a revelation of one's attitude, and one's friends in literature and history must be chosen just as in one's daily life. Mr. Monroe can certainly justify his selections and, take it all in all, has given us a book that is the most useful text-book on the subject that has yet appeared.

It is to be hoped that when the book goes into a second edition there will be some corrections made, for the work gives evidence of hurried preparation (in certain infelicities of style) and of lack of careful proofreading; for instance, the sentence (p. 194) "Suetonius mentions Crates of Mallos, a Greek ambassador to Rome, who met with an accident through falling into an open sewer and was thus detained at Rome (157 B. C.) as the first Greek teacher there." "Erigina" (p. 278) is usually known as Erigena, and he was invited by Charles the Bald, not the Bold. Mahaffy's book is *The Greek World under Roman Sway*—not "Survey" (p. 218). The reference on page 503 to Munroe's *The Educational School* is probably meant for James Phinney Munroe's *The Educational Ideal*. Owen's *Skeptics of the French Renaissance* appears twice on page 502 in the list of references on Montaigne. The first Humanist schoolmaster appears as "Vittorino" on page 376 and "Vitterino" on pages 398 and 399 and in the index. As in many another case, the majority is not right. The school over which Mulcaster presided is known as Merchant Taylor's rather than as "the Merchant Tailors' School".

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These, with some lapses in the index, are some of the mere surface defects which mar but which are as easy of correction as of discernment.

GEORGE H. LOCKE.

Political History of Europe from 1815 to 1848. Based on Continental authorities. By B. H. CARROLL, Jr., Ph.D. (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press. [1906.] Pp. 221.)

THIS volume "is intended to give American Students an accurate if somewhat succinct account of the course of Post-Napoleonic European Political History", and "does not pretend to be more than a compilation from the best and most accessible and usually untranslated continental authorities". The views expressed, however, it is declared, "sometimes differ so materially" from those of the authorities consulted "that the author begs leave . . . to assume responsibility for them". No further indication is given in the narrative proper of these portentous differences, but probably the "authorities" would regard this introductory chapter as sufficiently representative of them. Our author goes on to remark (p. 13) that "The period from the Fall of Napoleon I. to the Fall of Napoleon III. is an era almost unknown to American students", though "it is an era vastly important, for modern history; that is to say political history, in the true sense of the term, begins after the fall of that genius of war and politics". Having thus airily dismissed the preceding ages, Mr. Carroll suddenly but perhaps logically branches off "to note some things that History is not". History is declared not to be sociology and not to be political economy (for "Whatever they may do in the future, Labor and Capital, Progress and Poverty, Dives and Lazarus have not yet made History"); "It is not the mere record of wars and battles", but "Concretely History is the record of the struggle of the great powers of the world against other", and "Internally the history is the record of the attempt to lay hand on the wires of diplomacy and the hilt of the sword" (pp. 14–15). The development of states is mathematically presented as a simple equation of contest (thus "France against England equals the rise of the United States", p. 17); somewhat unexpectedly, however, this lucid statement ends with the tame conclusion (p. 18) that "Our task is none other than to show how the countries of the Continent provided themselves with constitutions."

The Baylor University Press has treated Mr. Carroll's book villainously, and some parts are almost unintelligible. The author was apparently in too great haste to attend much to the medium of his thoughts. Present and past tenses and conditions are mixed up indiscriminately, and extraordinary language is indulged in.

It is difficult to deal with entire fairness with a book of this character, and the reviewer confesses that he approached the narrative with some preconceptions. As a matter of fact, most of it is fairly good, and the characterizations of public men are at times excellent (the sketch of Metternich is stated (p. 42) to be based largely on Lord's

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Beacon Lights of History). But the arrangement is poor and detail is usually put in where it is uncalled for; the disjointed sections give little impression of continuity and do not make clear the general development; nothing stands out in bold relief. The volume was issued for the use of the students of Baylor University, and it may be useful there; the author was, however, ill-advised in bringing it in its present form before the general public.

VICTOR COFFIN.

The Industrial History of the United States for High Schools and Colleges. By KATHARINE COMAN, Ph.B., Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 343, xxiv.)

THERE are many features of this book, judged as a text-book, which are excellent. The distribution of space is good, about the same number of pages being devoted to the colonial period, the period of the Revolution and national beginnings, the period from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, and the period of the Civil War and subsequent years. There is a good working bibliography, marginal references to which are made in connection with every paragraph. There are many useful maps and diagrams and an abundance of well-selected illustrations.

If, notwithstanding these good points, the book cannot be said to be a wholly satisfactory text-book, the explanation is doubtless to be found, in part at least, in the fact that the writer of a text-book of the economic history of the United States labors under the difficulty of the lack, not only of any comprehensive treatment of the subject, but also of any satisfactory treatment of more than a very few of its most important aspects. In view of the scattered and partial character of the material available, it is not perhaps surprising that Miss Coman's book gives the impression of a collection of facts having to do with the economic history of the United States, rather than of a clear presentation of the main features of that history and the influences by which they have been determined.

It must be said, moreover, that even in her statements of facts the author has not exercised as much care as might fairly be expected. Some of the inaccuracies, such as placing the founding of Georgia in 1753 (p. 15), and naming the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth parallels as the limits of the grant to the London Company (p. 24), are evidently due to oversight in proof-reading, but all cannot be explained in this way. Glacial drift does not constitute an element of the soil of the Piedmont plateau from Maine to Georgia (p. 16). In describing the Navigation Act of 1660 (p. 79), no mention is made of the provision most important from the colonial standpoint, namely, that no goods could be imported into or exported from the colonies except in English ships. New Hampshire and Rhode Island first resorted to paper money in 1709 and 1710, respectively, not, as implied by the statement on p. 84, in 1733. The permission to export rice direct to countries south

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of Cape Finisterre was granted in 1730, not during the years 1765–1767 (p. 92). Naval stores were not the only commodities which American ships could transport to England under the trade regulations adopted by the English government after the Revolution (p. 112). The settlement on the Tennessee, shown in the map on p. 125, was, in fact, on the Cumberland. Benton was in favor of restoring the circulation of gold, not of the silver dollar, as stated on p. 198. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal did not reach Cumberland nor did the national road reach St. Louis in 1830, as shown on the map on p. 206. Michigan, not the United States, built the locks at Sault Ste. Marie in 1855, although the United States made a land grant for the purpose (p. 234). Early railroad charters were in many cases liberal but they did not fix maximum freight rates of "five, three, and two dollars per ton mile" (p. 240). $270,000,000 is certainly an excessive estimate for the sum expended on canals up to 1837 (p. 242). The Wilson Act, as passed, did not impose a duty on wool, as is distinctly implied on p. 303. The Act of 1878 required the coinage of 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver, not from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 dollars, each month (p. 314). The purchase of silver under the Sherman Act ceased in November, 1893, not December, 1894 (p. 317). Some of these inaccuracies are of minor importance, but the list might be considerably extended did time and space permit.

While the bibliography is useful, many of the references which we might expect to find, even in a brief bibliography, and which would be most helpful to the student, have not been included. It also is not free from inaccuracies. E. Benjamin Andrews appears as Benjamin J. Andrews (p. xi), and Bishop's *History of American Manufactures* is referred to (p. xii) as published in two instead of three volumes.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

A History of the Pacific Northwest. By JOSEPH SCHAFER, M.L., Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xvi, 321.)

PROFESSOR SCHAFER'S *History of the Pacific Northwest* is a school text-book. This is apparent from its format and from the statement in the preface that it is "primarily intended" to "promote a more intelligent interest in northwestern history among the youth of this region". Some if not all of the states carved out of "old Oregon" require the study of local history in the schools, and this book is presumably intended to meet the demand for a text incident to this requirement. The book is well written, and its statements are remarkably accurate.

Professor Schafer's original contribution to Oregon history consists of a collection of extracts from early Western newspapers, relating to the emigrations of 1843, 1844, and 1845, which he has partly printed in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* and upon which he has largely drawn in the present work. The only criticism that the

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book suggests is that it presents the history of the Oregon question so largely from the local point of view that it scarcely gives an adequate impression of the immense amount of time devoted by the government to its discussion and rather exaggerates the influence of events in Oregon upon government action. Professor Schafer thinks (p. 213) that there is "no doubt" but that the change in the situation in Oregon affected the negotiation between the British and American governments, but there is no evidence that it did. The diplomatic correspondence continued to thresh over the old straw. Moreover the only portion of the territory really in controversy was that north of the Columbia River, and with respect to that part the American immigration had not yet materially changed the situation. Professor Schafer further thinks (p. 218) that the Whitman massacre "forced" the organization of Oregon upon Congress. It is true that the report of the massacre caused Congress to take up the bill for organization, but it is more likely that it was the nomination of Van Buren by the Free-soil party, upon a platform demanding "established institutions for our brethren in Oregon", which secured its passage in the Senate.

Except for this neglect of the national point of view, Professor Schafer's book could scarcely be improved. It is particularly to be commended for its frank recognition of the services rendered by the Hudson's Bay Company to the early American settlers and for its acceptance of the Oregon treaty as a fair settlement of the questions in controversy. It is almost superfluous to add that Dr. Whitman resumes in these pages his proper place in the history of the Oregon missions and no longer masquerades as the "savior" of the country.

The substance of this volume, written somewhat larger but upon the same lines, forms the greater part of Professor Schafer's history of *The Pacific Slope and Alaska*, which is the tenth volume in the co-operative *History of North America*, of which Dr. Guy Carleton Lee was formerly editor.

F. H. Hodder.

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COMMUNICATION

President Johnson's First Annual Message

PROFESSOR DUNNING'S admirable article on the authorship of President Johnson's messages leaves one point undetermined: he shows conclusively that Johnson did not write the message of December 4, 1865, but he does not investigate the sources of the ideas therein contained. The quest is indeed of minor importance, because it is made plain that Bancroft was chosen to draft it precisely because his views largely coincided with those of the President. While, however, of little significance, it is not without interest.

The message falls into two parts. (The edition by Richardson was used.) Paragraphs twenty-three to thirty-seven inclusive summarize the work of the departments and were doubtless contributed by the heads of the respective departments. The remaining paragraphs were written by Bancroft and form the important part of the message. The first is conventionally introductory and is not at all in the Johnsonian vein. The next, a full page, is a discussion of the constitutionality of secession, following exactly, in sequence of argument, a much longer discussion in Johnson's most famous speech, that of December 18 and 19, 1860 (*Speeches of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States*, edited by Frank Moore, Boston, 1865, pp. 112–120). Some of the illustrations are taken, however, from other places; the quotation from Jefferson was perhaps suggested by a later portion of the same speech (*ibid.*, 163), while the reference to Jefferson as an asserter of the integrity of the Union was constantly in Johnson's mouth during the war (*e. g.*, *ibid.*, 294). The third does not seem to be based on any particular passage, though it is thoroughly Johnsonian. The fourth is roughly paralleled in the speech already referred to (*ibid.*, 106), which also contains the quotation from Jackson's Nullification Proclamation, summarized by the fifth paragraph (*ibid.*, 111). The sixth and the first part of the seventh are purely conventional; the last two-thirds of the seventh was evidently modelled on an address of the President to an Indiana delegation in April, 1865 (*ibid.*, 481–484). Paragraphs eight to eleven inclusive summarize the presidential plan of reconstruction, as it was known and discussed in every paper in the country. Paragraph twelve follows closely a passage in the previously cited speech of 1860 (*ibid.*, 100). Paragraph thirteen is strongly reminiscent of an interview with George L. Stearns, whose account, dated October 3, 1865, was signed and approved by the President (John Savage, *The Life and Public Services of Andrew Johnson*, New York, 1866, appendix, p. 102). Para-

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graphs fourteen to sixteen are largely explanatory of the most recent actions of the administration, and therefore one would not expect to find for them a literary source. Still the sixteenth resembles an address to a delegation of Loyal Southerners in April, 1865 (Moore, *Speeches*, 480).

The burden of the message up to this point is constitutional. Paragraph seventeen takes up the negro problem. The last part of this and the next paragraph are based on the interview with Mr. Stearns (Savage, *Life of Johnson*, app., 102). Paragraph nineteen is based on the President's admirable, though far from cordial speech of October 10, 1865, to the soldiers of the First Regiment of Colored Volunteers from the District of Columbia (*ibid.*, app., 90–95). Paragraph twenty follows first the same speech; the middle section seems to be from the President's reply to a delegation from Pennsylvania on April 27, 1865 (*Life, Speeches and Services of Andrew Johnson*, Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1865, pp. 160–161); for the last part I find no parallel. Paragraphs twenty-one and twenty-two discuss monopolies. The twenty-first paragraph is a section of the address last mentioned; for twenty-two I find no parallel, though it is peculiarly Johnsonian.

Paragraphs thirty-eight to forty-two are of the nature of a conclusion. Of these, the last part of forty recalls an address of Johnson while Vice-president, at Washington, April 3, 1865 (Moore, *Speeches*, xliv); forty-two reminds one of the concluding portion of his interview with the South Carolina Delegation, October 13, 1865 (Savage, *Life*, app., 100).

Johnson was not without pride in his speeches; he constantly referred those who wished to know what his policy would be to his record. Doubtless he gave Bancroft the same general direction, and the latter went to work with his trained historical skill to extract the grain from the chaff. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the historian had directly before him the more recent speeches of the President, though they were all, in some form or other, in print. It is equally possible that the President discussed these matters with him independently, and possibly others for which no direct parallel has been found. It is, at any rate, evident that the attempt was made to have the message voice Johnson's ideas. One cannot, however, read the parallel passages without realizing that the impression created by the message was due to the marshalling of these ideas by Bancroft and the general spirit of moderation which he was able to infuse in the whole.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

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NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Mr. Woodbury Lowery, the author of *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States,* died in Sicily on April 11 at the age of fifty-three. Until 1897 he practised patent law, publishing several law-books. The later years of his life were devoted to historical research in the archives and libraries of Mexico, Seville, London, and Rome. The first volume of his work entitled *The Spanish Settlements* was published in 1901, and the second, embracing the history of Florida from 1562 to 1574, in 1905. He had made notes for several more volumes. It is understood that he has provided for the continuance of the work, and that he has given his collection of maps and historical notes to the Library of Congress. His death means a distinct loss to historical scholarship, for his work combined in a rare degree accuracy of statement with charm of literary style.

Señor Carlos Calvo, the Argentine publicist and historian and one of the greatest authorities on international law, died in May at the age of eighty-two. He had represented his country at many European capitals, and at the time of his death was its representative at Paris. His best-known works are his *Derecho Internacional Teórico y Prático de Europa y América* and his *Recueil Complet des Traités, Conventions, etc., de tous les États de l'Amérique Latine depuis l'Année 1493 jusqu'à Nos Jours* (1862–1869).

Dr. Wilhelm von Heyd, director of the royal library in Stuttgart, died in February at the age of eighty-two. He is most widely known as the author of the *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1879, 2 vols.), which was published in augmented form in a French edition in 1885–1886. Among his other writings are *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Handels* (1890); and *Bibliographie der württembergischen Geschichte,* 2 vols. (1895–1896).

Dr. A. H. J. Greenidge, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and author of several valuable works on Roman and Greek history, died on March 11 at the age of forty. In 1904 appeared the first volume of what promised to be his most important work: *A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate.*

Brother Marcellino da Civezza, the author of several historical works chiefly relating to the sources of Franciscan history, died in April at an advanced age. In collaboration with T. Domenichelli he published *La Leggenda di San Francesco scritta de Tre Suoi Compagni* (*Legenda Trium Sociorum*) *publicata per la Prima Volta nella Vera sua Integrita*

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(1899). The first edition of his three-volume work on *Il Romano Pontificato nella Storia d'Italia* was published in 1886–1888 (Firenze, Ricci). His most extensive work was the *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, vols. I.–XI.; published in Rome, later in Florence, 1857–1895. Brother Marcellino da Civezza was a member of the Commissione Cardinalizia per gli Studi Storici in Rome.

Mr. Richard E. Helbig, in charge of the German-American Collection in the New York Public Library, is endeavoring to collect everything written by or about Carl Schurz.

A Leopold von Ranke Verein has been organized for the purpose of establishing a Ranke Museum in the house in Wiehe where he was born. Dr. Boetticher is chairman of the committee of arrangements.

Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin has resigned the professorship of American History at the University of Michigan, and is to be head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Assistant Professor C. H. Van Tyne succeeds Professor McLaughlin, and Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Colorado, has accepted the position of Assistant Professor of American History at Ann Arbor.

Dr. W. L. Westermann of the University of Missouri has been called to the University of Minnesota as Assistant Professor of History. He will make ancient history his special field.

Professor John Spencer Bassett of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., has accepted an appointment to a professorship of history in Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

The fourth International Congress of Historical Sciences, which was to have met next autumn, has been postponed till the summer of 1908, when it will convene in Berlin. The committee of arrangements consists of Dr. R. Koser, director-in-chief of the Prussian archives, and Professor Eduard Meyer and Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, both of Berlin. The sections of legal and economic history will be organized by Professors Otto Gierke and Schmoller respectively.

More extended notice will be given in a later number to *Lo Científico en la Historia*, by Julián Ribera (Madrid, P. Apalategui, 1906).

Father Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library, will bring out within a few months a bibliography of publications of documents from the Vatican archives, extending to the end of 1900. A second part, extending through 1905, will soon follow. Quinquennial supplements are intended.

A. Capelli's *Cronologia e Calendario Perpetuo* (Milan, U. Hoepli, pp. xxxiii, 413) is a very useful book of reference published in the series of Manuali Hoepli. This handbook contains the chronological series of Roman consuls; parallel chronological tables of the Christian era to 2000 A. D., the Byzantine, and Spanish eras; Easter tables; ancient Roman calendar; perpetual Julian and Gregorian calendar; glossary of the principal feast-days; list of saints; the hegira; eras of the French Republic;

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chronological tables of the principal European sovereigns, under geographical alphabetical arrangement, etc.

Mr. Murray has issued a new edition of Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*, with introduction and notes by Sir Frederick Pollock. For the convenience of those who possess earlier editions, Sir Frederick Pollock's notes and introduction are also published separately with an index to both editions.

In his work on *Les Sanctions de l'Arbitrage International* (Paris, Pedone, pp. 432) M. Jacques Dumas reviews the history of the sanctions—material, civil, penal, and political—as applied from the time of the Amphictyonic Council to the present day.

Houghton, Mifflin, and Company propose to publish in the autumn *Harvard Economic Studies*, which will be under the general editorial supervision of Professor T. N. Carver. One of the early volumes will be Dr. W. H. Price's "The English Patents of Monopoly".

A collection of the chief sources relating to the fundamental institutions of the canon law has been compiled by Professor A. Galante in a volume entitled *Fontes Juris Canonici Selecti* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1906, pp. xvi, 677), which will be of much interest to historians as well as to jurists. Nearly half of the book is included in the first two sections, which treat of the *ecclesia antiquissima* and the *potestas ecclesiastica et imperium civile*. The remaining sections deal with ordination, the hierarchy of order and of jurisdiction, the pope, cardinals, curia, papal legates, metropolitans, bishops, chapters, vicars, parish priests, orders, and congregations.

M. Charles Diehl has published a volume entitled *Figures Byzantines* (Paris, Armand Colin, pp. 344) the contents of which are as follows: La Vie d'une Impératrice à Byzance; Athénais, Théodora, Irène; Les Romanesques Aventures de Basile le Macédonien; Les Quatre Mariages de l'Empereur Léon le Sage; Théophano; Zoé la Porphyrogénète; Une Famille de Bourgeoisie à Byzance; Anne Dalassène.

The German Universities and University Study is the title of a work by Professor F. Paulsen of Berlin, translated by Professors F. Thilly and W. W. Elwang and published by Scribners (pp. 451). The author traces the historical development of the German universities from the Middle Ages down to the present time, and discusses the present organization and functions of the German university.

Professor H. E. Egerton, whose appointment to the Beit Professorship at Oxford was noted in the last number of the REVIEW, chose for the subject of his inaugural lecture the *Claims of the Study of Colonial History upon the Attention of the University of Oxford* (Frowde). He pointed out that colonial history is concerned mainly with constitutional and economic questions, and that it should be taught and learned in a way that will cultivate the historical imagination and make intelligible the different points of view of diverse peoples.

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Die territoriale Entwicklung der europäischen Kolonien (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xi, 344) is the title of a recent publication by Professor A. Supan, editor of Petermann's *Mitteilungen*. A colonial historical atlas is included.

Messrs. Longmans announce the publication of a work entitled *International Documents: a Collection of Conventions and other International Acts of a Law-Making Kind*, edited by Mr. E. A. Whittuck, Governor of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Mr. Murray announces for forthcoming publication a work entitled *Local and Central Government: a Comparative Study of England, France, Prussia, and the United States*, by Mr. Percy Ashley of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

We have received *Notes on the History and Political Institutions of the Old World* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. ix, 719) by Dr. Edward Preissig, author of *Short Outline of the History of Austria-Hungary*.

The first volume of O. Nachod's *Geschichte von Japon* (Gotha, Perthes, 1906, pp. xxx, 426) has been published in Professor Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*.

Paul Lacombe has contributed to the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine* a volume entitled *La Psychologie des Individus et des Sociétés chez Taine, Historien des Littératures* (Paris, Alcan).

A Bibliography of Text-Books and Works of Reference in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern, English and American History, edited by Professor Norman Maclaren Trenholme, has been published by the Department of History of the University of Missouri (Columbia, 1905, pp. 27). The list was prepared particularly for use in the approved high-schools of Missouri.

Documentary publications: A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae*. IV. *Codices bibliothecae nationalis dictae a Victorio Emmanuele II.* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. I.); A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae*. IV. *Codices bibliothecae Alexandrinae* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. II.); A. Pereire, *Des Premiers Rapports entre Saint-Simon et Auguste Comte, d'après des Documents Originaux, 1816–1819* (Revue Historique, May–June).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Jansen, *Die Geschichtsauffassung im Wandel der Zeit; ein Vortrag* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); A.-D. Xénopol, *La Notion de "Valeur" en Histoire*, concl. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); H. Berr, *Les Progrès de la Sociologie Religieuse* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); S. Ehses, *Nochmals Paolo Sarpi als Geschichtsquelle* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française:*

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Avant le Livre des Origines; L'Ancien Régime (La Révolution Française, March, April); Goldwin Smith, *Froude* (Atlantic Monthly, May); F. von Ranke, *Vierzig ungedruckte Briefe Leopold von Rankes* (Deutsche Revue, March); E. Levasseur, *Boutmy et l'École* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, March); G. Monod, *La Chaire d'Histoire au Collège de France* (Revue Historique, March–April); G. Lanson, *Questions Universitaires: Les Répétiteurs* (Revue Bleue, February 24, March 31).

ANCIENT HISTORY

A *History of Ancient Civilization*, the first volume of *The History of Civilization* by M. Charles Seignobos of the University of Paris, has been translated by A. H. Wilde and recently published by Scribners. The volume begins with prehistoric times and comes down to the third century of our era.

The *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich), having concluded the first lustrum of its existence and having deservedly attained a secure position, has adopted the name of *Klio*, while retaining as a subtitle its former name, which did not clearly indicate its periodical character. Recent *Beihefte* to the journal are *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter Demosthenes* (pp. vii, 94), by J. Sundwall; *Der römische Gutsbetrieb als wirtschaftlicher Organismus nach den Werken des Cato, Varro und Columella* (pp. viii, 100), by H. Gummerus; and *Die Legionen der Prov. Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (pp. x, 96), by B. Filow.

Professor Hugo Winckler, editor of the laws of Hammurabi, has compiled an *Auszug aus der vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, pp. 86) which states succinctly the most important facts in the political and cultural history of the countries of Western Asia to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, 539 B. C.

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie's new book, *Researches in Sinai*, recently published by Mr. Murray, contains the first detailed account of the Egyptian remains in Sinai, and discussions of discoveries relating to the Semitic ritual, the route of the exodus, the numbers of the Israelites to the period of the monarchy, etc. It contains 186 illustrations and four maps.

The Religion of Numa, and other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome, by Professor Jesse B. Carter (London and New York, Macmillan, 1906, pp. viii, 189), has appeared recently.

Professor J. P. Mahaffy's volume entitled *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1906, pp. 482) is intended to replace his *Greek World under Roman Sway*, now out of print, "in a maturer and better form, and with much new material superadded".

The third volume of Professor E. Speck's *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums* (Leipzig, Brandstetter, 1906, pp. 1154) deals with the Romans

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from 265 B. C. to 476 A. D. The second volume of this important work was published in 1901.

A French translation of G. Salvioli's work has appeared under the title *Le Capitalisme dans le Monde Antique: Études sur l'Histoire de l'Économie Romaine*, translated by A. Bonnet (Paris, Giard et Brière).

The Roman Forum: its History and its Monuments is the title of a work by Professor Christian Huelsen recently translated from the second German edition by J. B. Carter and published by G. E. Stechert.

In *Die Angriffe der drei Barkiden auf Italien; drei quellenkritisch-kriegsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1905, pp. x, 310), by Konrad Lehmann, the author makes an exhaustive analysis of the question of the routes of the Punic generals, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, and of the strategic motives by which they and their enemies were influenced.

G. Boissier's *Tacitus and other Roman Studies* has been translated by W. G. Hutchinson and published by Constable (pp. 288).

Since the publication in 1899 of G. Negri's *Nerone e il Christianesimo*, a lively discussion has raged over the authorship of the burning of Rome in the year 64, and over the interpretation of the famous passage of Tacitus, Annals, XV. 44. An attempt finally to settle these problems has been made by Signor Attilio Profumo in his exhaustive critical study *Le Fonti ed i Tempi dello Incendio Neroniano*, which has been published in a sumptuous volume by Forzani (Rome, 1905, pp. 748).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Boissonnade, *M. Guiraud et l'Histoire Économique de l'Antiquité* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); Jules Baillet, *Les Noms de l'Esclave en Égyptien* (Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes, XXVIII, 1–2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Several studies by Jean Guiraud, published together under the title *Questions d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, Lecoffre, 1906, pp. 304), treat of the repression of heresy in the Middle Ages; Albigensian ethics; the "consolamentum" or Cathartist initiation; the question whether St. Dominic copied St. Francis; Jean-Baptiste de Rossi (1822–1894); the coming of St. Peter to Rome; Roman relics in the ninth century; and the spirit of the Catholic liturgy.

Cardinal Rampolla, the late pope's secretary of state, has included in his comprehensive work entitled *Santa Melania e i Suoi Tempi* detailed studies of Roman life in the fifth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Goyau, *Une Patricienne Chrétienne au Cinquième Siècle: Mélanie la Jeune* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May); P. Fournier, *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales. II. Date de l'Œuvre d'Isidore* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April).

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have arranged to begin the publication of the *Cambridge Medieval History* soon after the completion of the *Cambridge Modern History*, with which it will be generally uniform. The work, which will be in eight volumes, has been planned by Professor J. B. Bury and will be edited by Professor H. M. Gwatkin, Miss Mary Bateson, and Dr. G. T. Lapsley.

A *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebietes bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* has been published by A. Schaube through Oldenbourg, Munich.

M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville's book on the *Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology* (pp. 256) has recently been translated from the French with additional notes by R. I. Best and published by Simpkin.

Students of medieval culture will find a rich store of monumental source-material in the great work of Professor J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Brunswick, Vieweg, pp. xxxiv, 853; xvi, 1006). The first volume contains a systematic explanation, with over 2,300 illustrations, of objects dating from the fourth to the eleventh century, discovered in Hungary and preserved in various European museums. The second volume, no less richly illustrated, is devoted to a detailed description of the finds, and the third volume is an atlas containing 539 tables of illustrations.

The first volume of a history of the Sixth Century A. D. entitled: *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, by W. G. Holmes, has been published by Messrs. Bell (1905, pp. 378).

The house of Desclée, Rome, has published under the title *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula, additis opusculis Liturgicis, auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano* a new critical edition of one of the principal Franciscan sources, edited by the Capuchin scholar E. Alençon (pp. lxxxvii, 482).

The latest volume in the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* is the *Annales de Flodoard* (Paris, Picard, pp. lxviii, 307) edited by M. P. Lauer. Scholars will be grateful for a new edition of this invaluable work, which, covering the years from 919 to 966, is one of the most important sources for the history of the period, especially for the history of northern France. The last critical edition was published by Pertz in 1839, and was based upon only four of the seven manuscripts used by the present editor. The introduction contains an account of the life and writings of Flodoard, of the editions and manuscripts of the *Annals*, and an argument which appears to prove that the Greek letters at the end of each of the paragraphs devoted to a year represent the date according to the Byzantine era. Appendixes contain two brief texts found on manuscripts of the *Annals* —an obit of Charles the Bald and *Visiones Flothildis*—and extracts

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from various works, included in this volume in order to facilitate the study of their relation to the *Annals*.

A third edition of Gaston Paris's *Littérature Française au Moyen-Age, XIe–XIVe Siècle* has been published by M. P. Meyer and M. Bédier through Hachette (pp. xvii, 344). The corrections and additions are taken from annotations made by Gaston Paris upon a copy of the second edition. The bibliography, which was compiled in 1889, has been thoroughly revised. .

Professor J. Loserth has recently published through the house of R. Oldenbourg, Munich, a *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters, 1197–1492*, which forms the second of the series of handbooks of medieval and modern history edited by G. v. Below and F. Meinecke.

Two recent contributions to the military history of the Middle Ages are R. Czeppan's *Die Schlacht bei Crécy, 1346*, and F. Mohr's *Die Schlacht bei Rosebeke, 1382*. Both are doctoral dissertations published by Nauck, Berlin.

Professor E. Daenell, whose book on the *Geschichte der deutschen Hanse in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* was published in 1897, has continued that work in two important volumes on *Die Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse: Hansische Geschichte von der 2. Hälfte des XIV. bis zum letzten Viertel des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Reimer, pp. xvii, 474; xv, 561).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Poncelet, *Le Testament de Saint Willibrord* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXV. 11.); J. B. Hablitzel, *Hrabanus Maurus und Claudius von Turin* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII. 1); L. Levillain, *Jugement d'un Pape Jean en Faveur de Corbie* [c. 1000?] (Le Moyen Age, January–February); P. Alphandéry, *De quelques Faits de Prophétisme dans des Sectes Latines Antérieures au Joachimisme* (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, LII. 2); K. Baas, *Zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Heilkunst im Bodenseegebiet* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 2); K. Hampe, *Die Wundmale des hl. Franz von Assisi* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); A. Fierens, *La Question Franciscaine: Les Écrits des Zélateurs de la Règle aux premiers Temps de l'Histoire Franciscaine d'après les Récentes Controverses* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); J. Finot, *La Paix d'Arras (1414–1415)*, concl. [Pièces justificatives, pp. 187–218] (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, April); P. Richard, *Origines des Nonciatures Permanentes: La Représentation Pontificale au XVe Siècle (1450–1513)*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April).

MODERN HISTORY

Professor Williston Walker has written a life of *John Calvin* for the series of *Heroes of the Reformation* published by Putnams.

The third volume of *Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652–1654*, the preparation of which was begun by Dr. S. R.

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Gardiner, has been completed by Mr. C. T. Atkinson, and printed for the Navy Records Society as the thirtieth volume of their publications.

The house of H. Welter has published the thirty-seventh volume of Mansi's *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum*, edited by J. B. Martin and R. P. L. Petit, and covering the years 1720–1735. This volume is at the same time issued as volume one of a new series of about ten volumes intended to cover the period from 1720 onward, and entitled *Collectio Conciliorum Recentiorum Ecclesiae Universae.*

M. J. E. Driault, author of *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon*, has recently published in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* a volume entitled *Napoléon en Italie, 1800–1812* (Paris, Alcan).

Ma Vie Militaire, 1800–1810 (Hachette, 1906, pp. xxiii, 332), by J. Chevillet, a trumpeter in the eighth regiment of *chasseurs à cheval*, is published from the original manuscript by M. Georges Chevillet, the author's grandson, with a preface by M. Henry Houssaye of the French Academy.

La Rome de Napoléon (Paris, Plon, 1906, pp. 697), by M. L. Madelin, is an important study of the French domination of Rome from 1809 to 1814, based upon documents in public and private archives.

The Duke of Argyll, 1823–1900 (London, Murray), is the title of a forthcoming work comprising his autobiography down to 1857, and his life from that date onward, based on his correspondence and diaries, edited by the Dowager Duchess of Argyll. The Duke's active participation in politics began in 1847.

Le Vicomte de Gontaut-Biron, French ambassador to Berlin after the conclusion of peace, has given an account of his mission in his volume entitled *Mon Ambassade en Allemagne, 1872–1873* (Paris, Plon).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. E. N. Simms, *Some Historians and the Reformation* (Twentieth Century Quarterly, April); J. Trésal, *Les Responsabilités de la France dans le Schisme Anglican* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); R. Ancel, *La Secrétairerie Pontificale sous Paul IV.* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); G. Edmundson, *Early Relations of the Manoas with the Dutch, 1606–1732* (English Historical Review, April); Juan Pérez de Guzmán, *Las Ultimas Negociaciones de Matrimonios Regios entre Inglaterra y España, en 1623* (La España Moderna, April, May); C. B. Favre, *La Diplomatie de Leibniz*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, April); G. Bonet-Maury, *Deux Ambassades Françaises au Maroc sous Louis XIV., 1691–1693* (Revue Bleue, April 28); L. Cahen, *L'Idée de Lutte de Classes au XVIIIe Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); F. Mensel, *Zur Histoire de mon Temps Friedrichs des Grossen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); F. C. Wittichen, *Die Politik des Grafen Hertzberg 1785–1790* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); *La Roma di Napoleone* (La Civiltà Cattolica, April 7); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Das Gefecht bei Limale 18. Juni 1815* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVII.

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1); *Lettres Inédites du Comte Charles de Montalembert au Baron Anckarsvärd, 1829–1857* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XX. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Dr. F. Haverfield of Christ Church, Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy, has published through Mr. Henry Frowde a work entitled *The Romanisation of Roman Britain*, which is based on archeological data.

An investigation into the financial system of the Anglo-Norman feudal state has been made by Professor Patow in his monograph entitled *Compotus Vicecomitis* (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. 62).

Professor Tout of the University of Manchester and Miss Hilda Johnstone, fellow of the same university, have edited for the Camden series of the Royal Historical Society a volume entitled *State Trials of the Reign of Edward the First, 1289–1293* (London, 1906). The book is based upon two unpublished plea rolls "containing the official proceedings of the trials of the judges and other royal officers, before a special Commission appointed by Edward I. in 1289", and includes select cases, analyses of the rolls, and a curious satire narrating the events of the year 1289 in scriptural phraseology. In the introduction Miss Johnstone analyzes the accusations and concludes that "a very real oppression had lain upon the country during the King's absence."

The Oxford University Press announces as in preparation a work by Professor C. W. Oman on *The Great Rebellion of 1381*.

Professor Walter Raleigh's *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century*, first printed as an introduction to Messrs. MacLehose's edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, April, 1905, has been revised and reissued separately (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1906, pp. 205).

We note the publication of *The Great Lord Burghley, (William Cecil): a Study in Elizabethan Statecraft* (London, Nash, pp. xv, 511) by Martin Hume.

The Johns Hopkins Press announces a second series of reprints of economic tracts under the editorial direction of Professor J. H. Hollander. The series consists of: *A Discourse of Trade*, by Nicholas Baron (1690); *Several Assertions Proved*, by John Asgill (1696); *Discourses upon Trade*, by Dudley North (1691); *England's Interest Considered*, by Samuel Fortrey (1663). The first and second of these are now ready. Each tract will contain an introductory note and text annotations by the editor.

Fontenoy, and Great Britain's Share in the War of the Austrian Succession, is the title of a work by F. H. Skrine recently published by Messrs. Blackwood.

The first volume of Mr. J. B. Atlay's work on *The Victorian Chancellors* (Little, Brown, and Company) includes lives of Lyndhurst,

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Brougham, Cottenham, and Truro. The two volumes will be a virtual continuation of Lord Campbell's *Lives*.

Recent volumes in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* relate to Lancashire (vol. I.), Worcester (vol. II.), and Northamptonshire (genealogical volumes).

Dr. M. J. Bonn has embodied the results of his long and critical researches in two volumes entitled *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1906, pp. viii, 397; 320). The work, which is based partly on documents in the Dublin Record Office, begins with the colonization by the Anglo-Normans and comes down to the present time.

A selection of official documents dealing with the history of *Old Fort William in Bengal* (London, Murray) has been edited for the Indian Records Series by Dr. C. R. Wilson, late in charge of the records of the government of India.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry III., 1232–1247; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, vol. IX., Edward III., 1349–1354; *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N. S., 1600–1601; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1694–1695.

Other documentary publications: F. J. C. and D. M. Hearnshaw, *Southampton Court Leet Records*, 1578–1602 [Southampton Record Society] (Southampton, Gilbert, pp. 165–372).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Spotswood Green, *The Wrecks of the Spanish Armada on the Coast of Ireland* (The Geographical Journal, May); J. M. Anderson, *James I. of Scotland and the University of St. Andrews* (Scottish Historical Review, April); C. H. Firth, *Ballads on the Bishops' Wars, 1638–1640* (Scottish Historical Review, April); D. K. Broster, *A French Traveller in Charles II.'s England* (Cornhill Magazine, May); W. C. Abbott, *The Long Parliament of Charles II.*, II. (English Historical Review, April); H. Bingham, *The Early Organization in London of the Scots Darien Company* (Scottish Historical Review, April); F. Treffry, *St. Patrick* (The Westminster Review, May).

FRANCE

M. Alfred Franklin's *Dictionnaire Historique des Arts, Métiers et Professions exercés dans Paris depuis le Treizième Siècle* forms a large octavo volume of 1,000 pages, published by H. Welter, Paris.

A bibliography of Agrippa d'Aubigné with five unedited letters of Prosper Mérimée, printed in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (May–June, 1905), has been issued in separate form (Paris, Agence Gén. de la Société, pp. 40).

We should have noted earlier the important article entitled "Les Archives Pontificales et l'Histoire Moderne de la France", by M. G. Bourgin, in the *Bibliographie Moderne* for September–October, 1905.

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The first two volumes of the collection of documents relative to the economic life of the French Revolution published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction are C. Bloch's *Département du Loiret: Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789*, I. (Orléans, Imp. Orléannaise, 1906, pp. 800), and S. Charléty's *Département du Rhône: Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux* (pp. 722). Both books are sold by E. Leroux, Paris.

Father P. Bliard has written from unedited documents a very detailed account of *Le Conventionnel Prieur de la Marne en Mission dans l'Ouest, 1793–1794* (Paris, Emile-Paul, 1906, pp. viii, 450). Prieur is described in his *milieu* as a representative figure of his period.

A *Bibliografia Ragionata per servire alla Storia di Napoleone II.* (Roma, Bocca, 1905) has been compiled by Alberto Lumbroso, director of the *Revue Napoléonienne*. It supplements the first part of this author's work on *Napoleone II.*, published in 1902.

M. A. Lebey has undertaken to write a very detailed and abundantly documented work on *Les Trois Coups d'État de Louis Napoléon Bonaparte* (Paris, Perrin, 1906). The first of his three volumes (pp. iv, 520) has been published and treats of the unsuccessful attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne.

A scholarly study of the efforts made by the state and other agencies to ameliorate the economic condition of the working classes has been made by G. Weill in his *Histoire du Mouvement Social en France, 1852–1902* (Paris, Alcan, 1905, pp. 494).

M. A. Debidour, whose *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France, 1789–1870*, was crowned by the Institute, has continued the work in two volumes on *L'Église Catholique et l'État en France sous la Troisième République, 1870–1906* (Paris, Alcan). The first volume, which has already appeared, comes down to 1889.

Documentary publications: Paul-Louis Courier, *L'Armée Française en Calabre et le Combat de Santa-Eufemia, 1806, Pages Inédites*, avec commentaires de M. Robert Gaschet (Revue Bleue, March 17); *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin, pendant son Ministère*, IX. (Août, 1658–Mars, 1661, publiées par G. d'Avenel (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1906, pp. 1008); *Des Circonstances Actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution et des Principes qui doivent fonder la République en France:* Ouvrage inédit de la Baronne de Staël publié pour la première fois avec une introduction et des notes par John Viénot (Paris, Fischbacher, 1906, pp. 352).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Davillé, *Le "Pagus Scarponensis"*, concl. (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, April); E. Dedé, *Les Pensions Ecclésiastiques sous l'Ancien Régime et jusqu'au Concordat* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Ch. V. Langlois, *Les Martyrs de 1321* (Revue Bleue, May 26); L. Febvre, *La France à la Veille de la*

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Réforme, d'après M. P. Imbart de la Tour (Revue de Synthèse Historique, February); L. Batiffol, *Les Finances de la Reine Marie de Médicis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May); F. C. Roux, *La Politique Française en Égypte à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, May–June); C. Perroud, *Histoire d'un Professeur pendant la Révolution* (La Révolution Française, April); E. Welvert, *Tallien* (Revue Bleue, February 24, March 3); C. Kuhlmann, *The Relation of the Jacobins to the Army, the National Guards, and Lafayette* (University Studies, published by the University of Nebraska, April); H. Poulet, *Le Sans-culotte Philip, Président de la Société Populaire de Nancy (1793–1794)*, I. (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, April); *La Société Populaire de Vouneuil-sur-Vienne: Registre de ses Délibérations* [1794–1795] (La Révolution Française, March); J. E. Driault, *Murat à Naples avant la Trahison: La Mission Durant en 1811* (Revue Bleue, April 14, 21); E. Forgues, *Le Dossier Secret de Fouché* (Revue Historique, March–April); E. Welvert, *Un Soldat d'Autrefois; Bugeaud en 1815* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); J. Tchernoff, *La Politique de Napoléon III. au Début de son Règne* (La Révolution Française, February).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Italienische Bibliographie, 1904–1905, by Karl Schellhass, has been separately printed from the *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, herausgegeben vom Koenigl. Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rom*, Bd. VIII. (Roma, tip. Unione Cooperative Editrice, 1905, pp. 99).

The *Rivista de Aragon* has been superseded by a new quarterly, *Cultura Española* (Madrid, P. Apalategui), the first number of which appeared in February. The new title indicates the change in the character of the journal, which is now devoted to national rather than to provincial interests in the fields of history, literature, art, and philosophy. The autonomous section devoted to history (pp. 64) is directed by R. Altamira and E. Ibarra y Rodriguez, and will contain body articles, documents, reviews, and notes.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Carcopino, *La Sicile Agricole au Dernier Siècle de la République Romaine* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 1); R. Poupardin, *Études sur l'Histoire des Principautés Lombardes de l'Italie Méridionale et de leurs Rapports avec l'Empire Franc*, I. *Les Sources* (Le Moyen Age, January–February); E. Rodocanachi, *Les Esclaves en Italie du XIIIe au XVIe Siècle* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); E. Ibarra y Rodriguez, *Los Solariegos en León y Castilla* (Cultura Española, February); R. D. Shaw, *The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain* (English Historical Review, April).

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A co-operative work entitled *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, Teubner) will be published in two large volumes under the editorship of Professor A. Meister. The first volume, part of which has already appeared, contains chapters on historical method, Latin paleography and diplomatic chronology, sphragistics and heraldry, the sources of the historical geography of Germany and neighboring countries, and the historiography and sources of German history. The second volume will treat of the economic, constitutional, legal, and ecclesiastical history of Germany. Among the contributors are Professors H. Oncken of Giessen, Sieveking of Marburg, Kötzschke of Liepzig, and the editor.

"Die Mission der Deutschen als Wandervolk in der Weltgeschichte", a lecture delivered before the German-American Historical Society of Illinois, by Professor Hermann Oncken of the University of Giessen, is printed in the society's quarterly, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, for April.

Scribners have published the first volume of *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. T. M. Lindsay, the Principal of the United Free Church College of Glasgow. This volume treats of the Reformation in Germany from its beginning to the religious peace of Augsburg, and aims at describing "this great religious movement and its social environment".

Kegan Paul has recently published volumes nine and ten of Mr. A. M. Christie's translation of the German edition of J. Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*. The period covered embraces the politico-religious revolution from the proclamation of the Formula of Concord in 1580 up to 1608, and the period leading up to the Thirty Years' War.

In his work on *La Fondation de l'Empire Allemand, 1852–1871* (Paris, Colin, 1906, pp. viii, 528), M. E. Denis, professor of contemporary history in the University of Paris, has endeavored to present a picture of the life of Germany from 1852 to 1871, reproducing the variety and complexity of the phenomena whose ensemble constitutes national existence, and thus indicating the conditions that determined the formation of Germanic unity.

The house of Alcan, Paris, has recently published the second volume of Paul Matter's *Bismarck et Son Temps*, entitled *L'Action, 1862–1870*. The third volume, *Le Triomphe et le Declin, 1870–1896*, is announced for the close of 1906.

The second volume of Professor M. Wehrmann's *Geschichte von Pommern*, covering the period from 1523 to the present time, has been added to the series of Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes).

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Dr. Hans Barth has compiled a *Repertorium* (Basel, A. Geering, pp. vii, 359) of the articles and contributions relating to the history of Switzerland, contained in periodicals and collections of the years 1891–1900. This serves as a continuation of Brandstetter's *Repertorium* (Basel, A. Geering), which covered the period 1812–1890.

The house of B. G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin, is publishing a German translation of a *Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes* written from the sources, by Professor Michael Hruszewsky of Lemberg. The first volume, which has already appeared, treats of the earliest history of the land and of the people, before and during the Slavic settlement; and of the beginnings of the kingdom of Kieff.

Documentary publications: F. Lau, *Urkundenbuch der Reichsstadt Frankfurt*, ed. J. F. Boehmer, II., 1314–1340 (Frankfurt am Main, Baer, 1905, pp. 643); *Regesten aus in- u. ausländ. Archiven mit Ausnahme des Archives der Stadt Wien*, V., No. 4732–6274. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (Vienna, Konegen, 1906, pp. vii, 469); J. Loserth, *Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich unter Ferdinand II.*, Tl. I. *Die Zeiten der Regentschaft und die Auflösung des protestantischen Schul- und Kirchenministeriums in Innerösterreich, 1590–1600.* [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abtlg. II., *Diplomataria et Acta*, Bd. 58.] (Historical Commission of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, Vienna, A. Hölder, 1906, pp. cii, 821); L. Bosshart v. Winterthur, *Chronik 1185–1532*, edited by K. Hauser, *Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Basel, Geering, 1906, pp. xxviii, 403).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Caro, *Zur Urbarforschung* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); W. Wittich, *Altfreiheit und Dienstbarkeit des Uradels in Niedersachsen* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV. 1); S. Herzberg-Fränkel, *Rudolf von Habsburg* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCVI. 3); B. Kuske, *Der Kölner Fischhandel vom 14.–17. Jahrhundert* (Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XXIV. 3); A. Hofmeister, *Rostocker Studentenleben vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, III. (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, IV. 2).

NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, AND NORTHERN EUROPE

The third volume of Professor Paul Fredericq's *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae* (Ghent, J. Vuylsteke, 1906) is devoted to completing the first and second volumes with 146 additional documents, dating from 1236 to 1513, and drawn from the archives of the Netherlands, Paris, and the Vatican, as well as from printed sources. The book contains a full index to the three volumes and a chronological list of all the documents contained in them.

Professor G. des Marez has expanded the opening chapter of his valuable book on *L'Organisation du Travail à Bruxelles au XVe Siècle*

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into an article entitled "Les Luttes Sociales à Bruxelles au Moyen Age", reprinted from the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* of January–February (Liége, La Meuse, 1906, pp. 41). The article lacks references to the sources.

Six of the leading historians of Norway are to co-operate in writing an illustrated history of that country from the earliest times to 1905. The first volume, by Professor Alexander Bugge, will appear early in 1907. The last volume will be by Professor Ernst Sars.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

But little need be said in this issue respecting the activities of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. Dr. Jameson returns to America during the first week in July after a three months' tour in the interests of the Department, in Europe and England. Miss Davenport is in London carrying to a conclusion the Department's investigations in the British Archives, the results of which are to be published in the winter. Mr. Leland returned to Washington in May from a six weeks' trip in the Southern states, in the course of which he visited the principal historical societies and depositories of public records, and examined the more important collections of historical manuscripts. A. C. McLaughlin's *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State, 1789–1840*, has been reprinted in a second edition, unchanged, and Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States*, which has been announced as out of print for some time, is again on sale. A revised and considerably enlarged edition of the *Guide* will be published late in the summer or early in the fall. One of the most valuable features of the new edition will be an exhaustive report by Mr. J. H. Russell on the Diplomatic, Consular, and Miscellaneous Archives of the Department of State.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists, to be held this year from September 10 to 15 at Quebec, will be under the patronage of the Governor-General of Canada. Dr. Robert Bell, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, is president of the Committee of Organization, and Dr. N. E. Dionne and Mr. Alphonse Gagnon are respectively general secretary and treasurer. The work will relate to the following subjects: A. The native races of America, their origin, history, etc.; B. Indigenous monuments and archeology of America; C. The history of the discovery and European occupancy of the New World.

A new catalogue, which relates to the history of America, has been put at the disposition of the public in the Salle de travail des imprimés, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The first volume relates to American antiquities and to early explorations, Canada, and the general religious

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and constitutional history of the United States; the second to the administrative and diplomatic history of the United States and to the history of the states and territories. The third volume, which is not yet completed, will relate to United States local history and to Latin America. The catalogue has been prepared by the Librarian, George A. Barringer.

Dr. Gräbner, who is in charge of the department of genealogy of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, is desirous of having as full a representation as possible of American genealogical publications. He would like to receive review copies of all such publications in order that they may receive adequate attention in the *Jahresberichte*. Where this is impracticable, he is desirous that publishers' or authors' circulars and announcements should be sent to him. His address is Schützenstrasse 50, Konitz, West Prussia.

The extensive collection of Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution is being copied for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, which will publish some of them in their series of *Collections*. A large number of additional papers recently brought to light in the Smithsonian Institution consist mostly of drafts of Schoolcraft's letters, accounts of Indian affairs under his charge, and official papers of Michigan during the territorial period.

The attention of users of the *Guide to the Archives in Washington*, published by the Carnegie Institution, is called to the transfer from the Bureau of Rolls and Library in the State Department to the Library of Congress of the following manuscripts noted on pages 20–29 of the *Guide*: Spanish manuscripts of 1631, supposed to have been captured in the City of Mexico; Orderly Books of Captain Robert Walker and Sergeant Dalson, together with the diary of Ebenezer Fitch and Paul Blancher; Forton Prisoners manuscripts, 1777–1779; Journal of the Travels of Alexander Church, Richard Ramsey, and Zephaniah Halsey; the printed books which are annotated by Sir Henry Clinton; Journal of the ship *Hope*, 1790–1792, 4 vols.; Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, 1792–1796; House Tax Insurrection, 1799; Correspondence of Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury; Papers relating to the Burr Conspiracy; Log-Book of the ship *Lexington*, 1807; the John Henry Papers; and the Jefferson Davis Papers.

The Carnegie Institution has made provision for the completion of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, under the supervision of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, who edited volumes XV. to XX. after the death of Sabin. The work stopped with page 196 of volume XX., at Smith (H. H.); the materials for completing it in seven or eight additional volumes are on hand, and their preparation for printing has begun. The work will be completed within two years, and is to be published by Joseph F. Sabin, son of the author.

United States Government Documents, by James I. Wyer (New York State Library Bulletin 102, Library School 21, Albany, 1906, pp.

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78), after treating in detail of the production, distribution, arrangement, classification, cataloguing, and use of United States government documents, concludes with a critical list of indexes to early documents.

A correspondent calls our attention to an error in Professor McMaster's article in our last number (supra, p. 525). New Hampshire did not abolish religious tests as qualifications for office in 1792, indeed not until 1877.

The index to the first ten volumes of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson, is now in press, and is expected to be on sale early in July.

The *American Historical Magazine* for May contains: "New York City in the Nineteenth Century", by J. A. Stevens (second paper: The Construction Period); "Witchcraft in Connecticut", by Forrest Morgan; "The Authorship of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798", by E. D. Warfield; "The Morris Family of Morrisania", by W. W. Spooner.

The International Bureau of the American Republics is publishing *American Constitutions; a Compilation of the Political Constitutions of the Independent Nations of the New World*, with short historical notes and various appendixes by José Ignacio Ramirez. Each constitution is given in the original language with a parallel-column translation into Spanish or English, as the case may be. Volume I. is devoted to the federal unions, comprising the United States of America, Mexico, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Venezuela, and to the republics of Central America. There will be two more volumes, the last of which will contain other documents illustrating the development of political life in the nations of the New World.

The Johns Hopkins Press has just issued *Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia*, by John C. Hildt (pp. 195).

Americana: Reisecindrücke, Betrachtungen, geschichtliche Gesamtansicht, by Professor Karl Lamprecht, has just appeared (Freiburg i. B., H. Heyfelder, 1906, pp. vii, 147).

The first volume of the *Grafton Historical Series*, to be edited by Dr. Henry R. Stiles, organizer of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and author of *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut*, will appear shortly from the Grafton Press.

The Rise of American Nationality, 1811–1819, by Kendric C. Babcock; *The Rise of the New West, 1819–1829*, by Frederick J. Turner; and *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829–1837*, by William MacDonald, forming volumes thirteen to fifteen of *The American Nation* (New York and London, Harper and Brothers), will receive fuller notice in a later issue of the REVIEW.

The *Development of the North since the Civil War*, by Joseph M. Rogers (pp. xxix, 482), and *Prehistoric North America*, by W. J. McGee and Cyrus Thomas (pp. xxviii, 485), form respectively volumes XVIII.

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and XIX. of *The History of North America*, edited by Francis N. Thorpe (Philadelphia, George Barrie and Sons).

In these columns in the April number of the REVIEW we announced the succession of Dr. Francis N. Thorpe to the position of editor, formerly occupied by Guy Carleton Lee, of the *History of North America* (Philadelphia, Barrie) and commented on the methods by which, in the circular announcing the change in editorship, the REVIEW had been misrepresented as giving its unqualified indorsement to the series. At the suggestion of Dr. Thorpe and lest any one upon reading our comment should draw an incorrect inference as to the authorship of the circular in question, we think it is proper to state that Dr. Thorpe was in no way responsible for any of the statements contained in that document.

American Public Problems is the general title of a series of books dealing with "contemporary political, economic, and social questions" under the editorial direction of Ralph Curtis Ringwalt and published by Henry Holt and Company. The first volume issued is *Immigration*, by Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, reviewed elsewhere in this number; the second is *The Election of Senators*, by George H. Haynes. In the opening chapters the author reviews the reasons which led the framers of the Constitution to place the election of senators in the hands of the state legislatures, and the considerations which led to the law of 1866. He then shows the effects of the present method on the Senate and the senators, and on state and local governments, and discusses the movement for popular election, giving the arguments for and against a Constitutional amendment.

In *Les Droits Législatifs du Président des États-Unis d'Amérique*, by M. Henry Bosc (Paris, Rousseau, pp. 286), the author deals with the positive legislative powers as derived from the power of message, and with the negative right of veto. An introductory chapter discusses the separation of powers, and the legislative powers of the President at the Convention of Philadelphia.

In *Five American Politicians: a Study in the Evolution of American Politics*, by Samuel P. Orth (Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1906, pp. 447), the author treats of Aaron Burr, DeWitt Clinton, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, and Stephen A. Douglas as they are identified with the beginnings of different institutions of American politics.

A recent publication of the University of Chicago Press is *The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States*, by Frank George Franklin (pp. 330).

American Literary Masters, by Leon H. Vincent (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1906, pp. xiv, 518), treats of the life, character, and works of nineteen men of letters whose principal literary activities fell within the years 1809–1860.

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The Massachusetts Historical Society has published a *Catalogue of the Library and Collection of Autograph Letters, Papers, and Documents bequeathed to the Society by the Rev. Robert C. Waterston*, prepared by J. H. Tuttle. The collection is miscellaneous and not related to any special subject. Books relating to England and Great Britain are largely represented in the collection; there are also some missals and other early manuscripts and nearly a score of incunabula. The catalogue is in three sections: Library, Manuscripts, and Engravings. Among the manuscripts are several which have an interest for students of American, and, more particularly, Massachusetts history.

W. H. Lowdermilk and Company propose to publish by subscription a reprint of *The Heckewelder Narrative, an Account of the Mission of the United Brethren [Moravians] among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians from its Commencement in the year 1740 to the close of the year 1808*. The reasons given for a reprint are the probable scarcity of the original edition brought out in 1820 and the many differences between the printed copy and the original manuscript from which the reprint will be made.

A volume of proceedings of the *Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States; Addresses delivered on Thanksgiving Day 1905*, together with other selected addresses and proceedings (The New York Co-operative Society, 1906, pp. xiii, 262), has been published. Another edition of this forms Number 14 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*.

A contribution of interest to historians in the recently published *Proceedings and Papers*, volume one, part one, of the Bibliographical Society of America is: "Materials in the Library of Congress for a Study of United States Naval History", by Charles Henry Lincoln.

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

"The Montezuma Mounds", by Gerard Fowke (Missouri Historical Society Collections, vol. 2, no. 5), is an account of recent explorations made by N. D. McEvers, John M. Wulfing, and David I. Bushnell.

We have received *Heroes of Discovery in America*, by Charles Morris, author of *Historical Tales, Half-Hours with American Authors*, etc. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1906, pp. 344).

The Wisconsin Historical Society has recently acquired Pierre Margry's scrap-book, in which he placed clippings from American and continental magazines and newspapers, adding thereto in his own handwriting, in ink or pencil, annotations, criticisms, and other data. The clippings refer mainly to the discovery of the Mississippi and kindred subjects.

We note the publication of *On the Spanish Main; or, Some English Forays on the Isthmus of Darien, with a Description of the Buccaneers and a Short Account of Old-time Ships and Sailors*, by J. Masefield (London, Methuen, pp. 356).

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A new edition of the *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* (vol. I., Madrid, Moreno, 1906, pp. xxx, 388) forms the fifth volume of the *Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes á la Historia de América.* The narrative is illustrated by some hitherto unpublished documents.

The closing volumes in the Trail Makers Series (A. S. Barnes) are: *The Journeys of Réné Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle* (New York, 1905, 2 vols.), as related by Henri de Tonty, Fathers Zenobius Membré, Louis Hennepin, and Anastasius Douay, Father Christian Le Clercq, Joutel, and Jean Cavelier, together with memoirs, commissions, etc., edited with an introduction by Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox. The preface states that the various documents here reprinted are found in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* part I., Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (part IV. of the *Historical Collections*), and Shea's *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi.*

A reprint of the first English edition of Joutel's *Journal of La Salle's last Voyage, 1684–1687,* has been published, with historical and biographical introduction by Dr. Henry R. Stiles (Albany, Joseph McDonough, pp. 258). He reproduces the English text published in London, 1714, which was based upon the Paris version of 1714. Joutel's manuscript has been textually reproduced only in Margry's *Collection,* III. 89–534. The editor has combined with his own notes those of Professor Melville B. Anderson to the Caxton Club facsimile reprint of 1896, which were the result of a collation of the English with the first French edition; he has included also a reprint of a "Bibliography of the Discovery and Explorations in the Mississippi Valley", by A. P. C. Griffin, and the maps of the French edition of 1713 in facsimile. The volume was issued as the third and concluding one of a series on the "Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi", projected by the late Dr. Shea, of which the first was published in 1852, containing the narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membré, Hennepin, and Anastasius Douay, and the second in 1861, containing those of Cavelier, Saint-Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas.

Longmans, Green, and Company announce *The Middle Colonies* and *The Colonies under the House of Hanover,* by John Andrew Doyle.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for May contains a "Report of the British Board of Trade and Plantations, November, 1702", printed from a transcript in that library, probably made for the Earl of Bute about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Little, Brown, and Company have acquired the American publishing rights of *The Fight for Canada, a Naval and Military Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War,* by Major William Wood, and have just issued a definitive edition (Boston, 1906, pp. xx, 370). The first edition, published in 1904 (Westminster, Archibald Constable and Company), was reviewed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for January,

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1905, X. 398–400. One of the principal ideas of the author is to emphasize the part played by the naval forces in the campaign against Quebec. Major Wood has carefully revised his work and included several additional notes.

Charles Scribner's Sons have published a "commemorative edition" of A. C. Buell's *Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy*. A supplementary chapter, describing the recovery of the body of John Paul Jones, written by General Horace Porter, has been added. No changes have been made in the original text of Buell. Unfortunately, the publishers have not taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by a new edition to correct the many inaccuracies of the first imprint. Attention may here be called to an article in the *New York Times* of June 10 by Mrs. Reginald de Koven, who is of the opinion that many of the inaccuracies are due not merely to carelessness but to deliberate falsification.

Mr. Albert H. Smyth's edition of the *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* has reached the seventh volume, which covers the period 1777–1779.

The "List of Works in the New York Public Library by or relating to Franklin" is reprinted from the *Bulletin* of that library for January.

Volumes four to six of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, recently published by the Library of Congress, cover the year 1776. The Library of Congress has issued two reprints from the series entitled: *Some Papers . . . laid before the Continental Congress, . . . taken from . . . the Journals of the Continental Congress*. In the first volume, which contains papers of 1775 taken from vol. 2 of the *Journals*, are the Declaration on Taking Arms, Franklin's Articles of Confederation, the reports on trade (Franklin, Lee, Jay, and the Committee of the Whole Congress), the report upon Lord North's conciliation resolution, and the reports on the unfinished business. The second volume contains papers submitted in 1776, taken from vols. 4–6: The Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the report upon coins, the plans of treaties with foreign states, and the instructions to the treaty commissioners.

A number of letters from John Adams to Samuel Adams, 1776–1797, and from John Quincy Adams to Arthur Lee, 1779, and George Bancroft, 1834–1838, are published in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for April. They are printed from the original manuscripts in the Bancroft collection in that library.

The Princeton Historical Association has published as No. 1 of a series of *Extra Publications* "A Brief Narrative of the Ravages of the British and Hessians at Princeton in 1776–1777: a Contemporary Account of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton". This manuscript, which was purchased by the Princeton Library at a sale of the late General William Scudder Stryker's collection, is here published for the first time, with introduction and notes by Varnum Lansing Collins. The editor gives evidence to show that the document could not have been written by Thomas Olden, to whom it has been ascribed; but he has been

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unable to ascertain the authorship. The narrative does not throw any new light on the battles of Trenton and Princeton—for the author saw only the beginning of the latter and the former not at all—and is valuable chiefly as a first-hand account of conditions prevailing in Princeton and its vicinity during the winter of 1776–1777.

A new edition of the book published by the French Government in 1903: *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778–1783: Listes Établies d'après les Documents Authentiques Déposés aux Archives Nationales et aux Archives du Ministère de la Guerre,* has been issued by Congress as Senate Document 77 (Washington, 1905). The new edition contains a full index of names, which was not in the Paris edition.

Volume XIV. of the *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War,* covering the letters Sha-Sth, has been issued this year (Boston, Wright and Potter, 1906).

We note the publication of *Alexander Hamilton: an Essay on American Union,* by Frederick Scott Oliver (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; London, Constable, pp. xiii, 502). The volume contains portraits and a map.

The fifth volume of the *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States,* published by the Department of State, containing letters and papers relating to the Constitution from August 1, 1788, to the death of Madison, has just appeared.

In the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for March are a number of letters written in 1788–1822, from Spencer Roane, the Virginia jurist, son-in-law of Patrick Henry, printed from originals in that library. Several are addressed to James Monroe.

The Early Exploration of Louisiana, by Dr. Isaac Joslin Cox (University of Cincinnati, University Studies, series II., vol. II., no. 1, January–February), is a detailed study of the exploration of the Louisiana Purchase under President Jefferson, 1803–1807, and especially emphasizes the President's own plan for the exploration. The political and scientific results of the more familiar expeditions are briefly summarized, but the comparatively unknown work of Hunter and Dunbar, of Sibley, and of Freeman is given in detail. A bibliography, giving a full description of the original manuscript sources and a list of original printed and secondary sources, accompanies the work. The author has made use of the manuscript journal of Dr. Hunter in the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

It is not necessary to give any extended notice in these columns of C. T. Brady's *True Andrew Jackson* (Lippincott). The scope and plan of the work are similar to those of the other volumes in the series. Mr. Brady seems to have placed a rather uncritical dependence upon Parton and the two recent biographies by Colyar and Buell, and to have wholly ignored the collection of Jackson papers in the Library of

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Congress, a collection that is unique for the vivid insight it gives into Jackson's character. It is probably safe to say that the most scholarly part of the volume under consideration is the appendix furnished by A. S. Salley, Jr., in which the much-disputed question as to the exact location of Jackson's birthplace seems to be satisfactorily and definitely settled in favor of South Carolina.

We have received the book entitled *Lincoln, Master of Men: a Study in Character*, by Alonzo Rothschild (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, pp. 531). As the title implies, the author restricts his treatment to what appears to him the most significant aspect of Lincoln's greatness—his mastery over men—and illustrates this aspect by chapters on his relations with such different types of men as Douglas, Seward, Chase, Stanton, Frémont, and McClellan. The volume contains nearly sixty pages of notes and a good index.

The *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861–1865* (Washington, Government Printing Office) is now complete in seven volumes.

Volume XX. of the First Series of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* has just appeared.

Letters from a Surgeon of the Civil War, compiled by Martha Derby Perry, will be published shortly. The author of the letters, Dr. John G. Perry, was a volunteer contract assistant surgeon in the Twentieth Massachusetts during the greater part of the war.

In *The Seventy-Seventh Pennsylvania at Shiloh: History of the Regiment* [by John Obreiter]; *The Battle of Shiloh* [by David M. Reed] (Harrisburg, Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Printers, 1905, pp. 406) is a full report of the work of the Pennsylvania Shiloh Battlefield Commission. The book is illustrated by two large and carefully prepared maps of the battle-field, showing positions on the first and second days.

An unusual aspect of the period of the Civil War is treated in *War Government, Federal and State, in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, 1861–1865*, by William B. Weeden (Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, pp. xxv, 389).

It is announced that with the publication this fall of two more volumes Mr. James Ford Rhodes's monumental work will be brought to a close. The narrative will conclude with the year 1877, although it was the author's original intention to continue it to 1885.

Memories of a Great Schoolmaster (Dr. Henry A. Coit), by James P. Conover, has been published by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company (pp. xxv, 270). Dr. Coit was rector and head-master of St. Paul's School, Concord, from its foundation in 1856 until his death in 1895.

In *Spanish-American Diplomatic Relations preceding the War of 1898*, by Horace Edgar Flack (Johns Hopkins University Studies in

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Historical and Political Science, series XXIV., Nos. 1–2, January–February), the author discusses the status of the Cubans during the insurrection, the causes or alleged causes for intervention on the part of the United States, and the efforts of Spain to avoid war.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, vol. XIX., for 1905 (Boston, 1906, pp. xviii, 583) contains a large number of hitherto unpublished documents, among which are the letters of Edmund Pendleton to James Madison, 1765–1781, and an account of a journey from Boston to Washington in 1812, among the extracts from the Memoirs of Dr. John Pierce. The paper by John Noble on "An Incident in 1731 in the Long Dispute of Massachusetts and Rhode Island over their Boundary Line" contains transcripts from unpublished papers in the early court files of Suffolk bearing on the trouble caused in 1731 by the attempt of the town of Attleborough to collect taxes in territory claimed by both states. Mr. Noble's paper on "Legislation in regard to Highway Robbery in Massachusetts" also contains original documents. "The Case of Samuel Shrimpton" [1685–1686], by Worthington C. Ford, is illustrated by papers from the Chamberlain collection in the Boston Public Library. In addition to the papers of Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Dunning noted in the April REVIEW, there are: "Edward Savage, Painter and Engraver, and his Unfinished Copperplate of 'The Congress Voting Independence'", by C. H. Hart; "Negro Suffrage and Reconstruction", by James F. Rhodes; "John Foster, the Earliest Engraver in New England", by Dr. Samuel A. Green; "The Book of Sports", by Edmund F. Slafter; "Manners, Morals and Laws of the Piscataqua Colony", by Dr. James De Normandie; "Abraham Bishop, of Connecticut, and his Writings", by F. B. Dexter; "The Outlook in History", by William R. Thayer; "Dr. Barefoot and Dr. Greenland", by F. B. Sanborn; "The Washington Oak at Mount Vernon", by Dr. Samuel A. Green; and "A Few Results of Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America", by G. Stanley Hall.

A bibliographical index to the literature on Massachusetts local history, prepared by Charles A. Flagg, of the Library of Congress, will be printed soon by the Salem (Mass.) Press Co.

The Salem Press Company announce a work on *The Putnam Lineage*, by Eben Putnam, which includes the material comprised in the eight published parts of *A History of the Putnam Family* and nearly as much new material derived from extensive research in English and American archives.

Recent additions to the *Vital Records of Massachusetts Towns* are those of Douglas, Royalston, and Phillipston, published by the Systematic History Fund; Edgartown, Dalton, and Norton, published by the New England Historic Genealogical Society; and Beverly (vol. I. Births), published by the Topsfield Historical Society.

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Records of the First Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632–1830, copied and edited by Stephen P. Sharples, which has been running in the *Genealogical Magazine,* is published in book form (pp. 522) by Eben Putnam.

Aside from articles of genealogical interest, the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for April contains "The Newburyport and Boston Turnpike", by H. Follansbee Long, and "Newspaper Items relating to Essex County", to be continued.

The Development of the Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, by Professor Clyde Augustus Duniway, forming vol. XII. of the Harvard Historical Studies, is the result of an extended revision of the author's thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, which was accepted by Harvard University in 1897 and the same year received the Toppan prize. An appendix contains illustrative documents and a discussion of sources. The book will receive fuller notice in a later issue.

The thirty-fifth volume in the series of *Records relating to the Early History of Boston,* formerly issued under the direction of the Record Commissioners and now published by the Registry Department of the City of Boston, comprises the ninth book of the Boston town records, including the proceedings of the town from April, 1796, to October, 1813. The volume has an index.

In addition to administrative reports, the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at the annual meeting held in Worcester, October 21, 1905, contains "Labor Organizations in Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Times", by Carroll D. Wright; a Memorial of George F. Hoar, by Edward E. Hale, with contents of his speeches and addresses; "A Notice of Yucatan with some Remarks on its Water Supply"; "The Jackson and Van Buren Papers", a descriptive account by William MacDonald; "A Page of American History", the account of a band of American soldiers who went to Yucatan in 1847, by Edward H. Thompson; and "Henry Hitchcock", by John Green.

Contributions of general historical interest in the *Connecticut Magazine* for January–March include: "John Grave: His Booke—The Diary of a Connecticut Citizen in 1679 . . . a Representative to the General Court from Guilford"; "Letters of a Soldier of the American Revolution", transcribed from the original manuscript; "The Expenses of a Congressman in 1777: Political Account Book of Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, of Connecticut"; the "Invasion of Connecticut by the British", by William Hanford Burr; and a sort of encyclopedic compilation, "First Things in America".

Recent manuscript accessions to the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society are: a collection of 130 documents called "Waterman Papers" bearing upon the colonial and Revolutionary history of Rhode Island, chiefly relating to the town of Warwick, including papers

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upon the Pawtuxet-Warwick controversy, petitions to the Assembly, letters on Revolutionary defenses, manuscript proclamations, etc., and a manuscript map of the colony of Rhode Island, 1720, drawn by the official surveyor, and illustrating the dispute as to the Rhode Island boundary lines.

A recently published doctoral dissertation is *Connecticut as a Corporate Colony*, by Nelson Prentiss Mead (Lancaster, Pa., New Era Print, pp. x, 117). The subject is discussed under the heads: Organs of Legislation and Administration, Finance and Currency, Land System, and Military Affairs.

An important publication in a hitherto unsearched field is: *The Constitutional History of New York from the Beginning of the Colonial Period to the year 1905, showing the Origin, Development and Judicial Construction of the Constitution*, by Charles Z. Lincoln (Rochester, N. Y., The Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Company, 5 vols.). The author, who was for six years legal adviser to the governor and was also chairman of the Statutory Revision and Code Commissions, devoted over four years of continuous work to its preparation, consulting papers in private possession as well as the state archives. More extended notice will be given in a later issue.

The fifth and sixth volumes of *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York*, published by the state under the supervision of Hugh Hastings, State Historian (Albany, 1905), comprise documents of 1753–1760, and 1761–1810 respectively.

The Historical Association of Olde New York announce by subscription the "Old and New Metropolis", an illustrated work, which will contain a reprint of the first directory of New York, facsimiles of five original maps of New York, etc.

In the fourth and final volume of *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, compiled by order of the Corporation and edited by Morgan Dix (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906, pp. xxi, 595), the editor brings the history down to 1862, when his own rectorship began.

Aside from continuations and genealogical articles, the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April contains "A Brief History of the Monongahela Bridge, Pittsburgh, Pa.", by Herbert Du Puy, and "The Masonic Chronology of Benjamin Franklin", compiled by Julius F. Sachse.

The Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, which is in charge of Marion Dexter Learned and Albert Cook Myers, will comprise these general subjects: (1) the early settlement or development of Pennsylvania; (2) the extension of settlement from Pennsylvania into the Great Valley and Piedmont Region of Virginia and the influence of Pennsylvania in the making of the South and West, with special reference to Virginia.

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Noteworthy articles in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* for March are "Some Religious Discussions in Philadelphia just after the Revolution", by Dr. James J. Walsh, and "The Jesuits in American California" (part first), by Bryan J. Clinch.

The Historical Society of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, has published three numbers of *Proceedings* (vol. I., nos. 1–3, Pottsville, Pa., 1905). "The County Historical Society", by D. G. Lubold (vol. I., no. 1); "A Talk about the Lightfoot Survey of 1759—the Forerunner of the Great Road of 1770", and "The Story of a Colonial Highway—the Great Road of 1770", both by Dr. J. J. John (vol. I., no. 2); and "The Schuylkill County Soldiery in the Industrial Disturbances in 1877", by George B. Stichter (vol. I., no. 3), are noteworthy papers.

Volume XXV. of the *Archives of Maryland* covers the administrations of Governor Nathaniel Blackiston, Thomas Tench, Esq., Governor John Seymour, Edward Lloyd, Esq., and Governors John Hart, Charles Calvert, and Benedict Leonard Calvert. Volume XXVI. is in course of preparation.

The Maryland Historical Society has begun the publication of a quarterly, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the first number being issued in March. In this magazine, which will be under the editorial direction of Dr. William Hand Browne, editor of the *Maryland State Archives*, it is proposed to publish original contributions, selections from the historical documents in the possession of the society, genealogical notes, and the society's annual report and other official communications to members. The first number contains "The Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County", by Judge Albert Ritchie; "A Pirate in the Chesapeake Bay", by Henry F. Thompson; "Baltimore and its Defences, Past and Present", by General William P. Craighill; unpublished letters of Washington to General Gist (from the Gist Papers in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society); "The Migrations of Baltimore Town", by Reverend George Armistead Leakin; "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis"; "The Brooke Family", by Dr. Christopher Johnston; the society's annual report; and a column of notes and queries.

As there was no legislative provision for printing the detailed report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland, which is deposited in the Land Commissioner's office, a synopsis of the work has been prepared and printed: *Condensed Report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland for the years 1904–1905*. The annual appropriation of one thousand dollars for two years has not enabled the commission to examine all the records. It is to be hoped that the legislature will provide for the completion of this work and for the publication of the detailed reports, which fill nearly 2,000 pages and form an inventory of the public records of Maryland. The condensed report states that many

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of the records were found in a state of decay and require immediate attention in order to assure their preservation.

An important contribution to the history of the period of Reconstruction is a letter, September 9, 1865, from Judge J. R. Doolittle to President Johnson (probably a rough draft of a more carefully prepared document) which is printed in the *Publications of the Southern History Association* for March. Another important communication is: "Maryland Politics in 1798, being Letters from the Correspondence of Dr. James McHenry, Secretary of War", contributed by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner. Letters of 1799 from the McHenry correspondence are given in the May number, and the Whiting diary is concluded.

Volume nine of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* contains among other papers: "The Earliest Free Public Library Movement in Washington, 1849–1874", by W. Dawson Johnston; "William Duane", by Allen C. Clark; "The Rise of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia", by Arthur S. Browne; and "Our Postal System", by Francis C. Huebner. The reprints which are a feature of recent volumes of the *Records* consist of extracts from the reports of a committee of the House of Representatives regarding payments for removal of the executive departments to Washington. The volume concludes with administrative reports.

The *Berichte* (Washington, D. C., 1905) of the Deutsche Historische Gesellschaft für den District Columbia, a newly organized society, contain a study of "Die ersten Deutschen im nochmaligen District Columbia", by Dr. Christian Strack.

Two new departments in the Virginia State Library are those of Archives and History, and of Virginia Bibliography. The former is in charge of Dr. Hamilton J. Eckenrode, and the latter is under Mr. W. Clayton-Torrence.

The first instalment of "Revolutionary Army Orders for the Main Army under Washington, 1778–1779", from originals in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, appears in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April. "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722–1734", is concluded in this number. The magazine prints a letter of Colonel Richard Kidder Meade, one of Washington's aids, dated October 3, 1780; and concludes with an address on "The Relations of History and Literature", by William Peterfield Trent, delivered before the Virginia Historical Society January 4, 1906.

In the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April the letters of William T. Barry are concluded. There are letters from Governor Benjamin Harrison to the mayor of Williamsburg (April 23, 1783) and from Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill to Humphrey Harwood, assistant master of William and Mary College (1791).

Reconstruction in North Carolina is a doctoral thesis by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, associate professor elect of history in the University of North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C., 1906, pp. 264).

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A contribution to American church history is a *History of Methodism in North Carolina from 1772 to the Present Time*, vol. I., by W. L. Grissom (Nashville, Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1905, pp. xviii, 373), which covers the period from the introduction of Methodism in North Carolina to the year 1805. The most extensive collection of material consulted by the author was that in the Library of the Methodist Historical Society of Baltimore, which has since been destroyed by fire.

"The Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. G. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828", with introduction and notes by Dr. Kemp P. Battle, is published as No. 6 of the *James Sprunt Historical Monograph Series* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1905, pp. 73). Dr. Mitchell was in charge of the Geological and Agricultural Survey of North Carolina.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for January contains letters from the Marquis de Lafayette to Honorable Henry Laurens, 1777–1780, and some letters from John C. Calhoun to Francis W. Pickens. The latter are in private hands and were not printed in the volume of Calhoun letters issued by the American Historical Association in 1900. The April number of the same magazine has a continuation of the Lafayette papers and "An Order Book of the 1st Regt., S. C. Line, Continental Establishment".

The historical library of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama, was destroyed by fire March 6, 1906.

Volume I. of the *Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798–1803*, which has appeared (Nashville, Tenn., Brandon Printing Company, 1905, pp. viii, 615) under the editorship of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, contains the Executive Journals of Winthrop Sargent, first Governor of Mississippi Territory, covering the period from May 21, 1798, to April 3, 1801, and of W. C. C. Claiborne, the second Governor, July 10, 1801, to March 27, 1803. The plan of the Department embraces a series of "Provincial Archives", 1540–1798, and one of "State Archives", 1817 to date. These, with the intermediate series now begun, afford a complete documentary history of Mississippi. The present volume, carefully printed and with an adequate index, marks the successful inauguration of a most important series.

Considerable space in the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is given to extracts from the Journal of Cyrus P. Bradley, kept by him during a Western trip in 1835. This presents a vivid picture of conditions in Ohio and Michigan at that time. Another notable contribution is "Antoine François Saugrain (De Vigni), the First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley", by N. P. Dandridge, the presidential address delivered at a meeting of the American Surgical Association at St. Louis.

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